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JEWISH MARTYRS
OF THE
INQUISITION IN SOUTH AMERICA.

BY
GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT,
New York.

BALTIMORE:
THE FRIEDERWALD COMPANY.
1895.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY No. 4, 1895.

TO MY FATHERLY FRIEND
AND TEACHER,

REV. DR. GUSTAV GOTTHEIL,

I DEDICATE THIS ESSAY

IN GRATEFUL AFFECTION AND ESTEEM.

G. A. KOHUT.

New York, Nov. 1, 1895.



JEWISH MARTYRS OF THE INQUISITION IN SOUTH AMERICA.

BY GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, *New York.*

Torquemada's sway extended even beyond the Atlantic. There are few decades in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which do not deserve a conspicuous place in the annals of history for excess of wanton cruelty and inhuman oppression, and there were few countries exempt from the influence of those barbaric times, when fanatic zeal and holy bigotry were virtue.

Contrary to popular belief, intolerance reigned supreme in America almost immediately after its colonization. Monks and Jesuits who had settled in Mexico, Peru, Central America and the West Indies took particular care not to favor the Marranos or New Christians who fled from Spain and Portugal to escape the tortures of the Inquisition. It is not at all unlikely that they informed against them, and persuaded Queen Johanna, in 1511, to restrict their immigration.* Despite all efforts at concealment, their identity was always discovered, and many victims were snatched away from the New World by agents of the so-called Holy Office, to be consigned to the infernal flames of the *autos de fe* whose fires were kindled in Goa (India),† Lima and other localities

* See Dr. M. Kayserling's article, "The Colonization of America by the Jews," *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 73; *Christopher Columbus and the participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries*, New York, 1894, pp. 126 ff., 169-171; George A. Kohut in the *Reform Advocate*, January 19, 1895, p. 354.

† A curious and valuable account of the proceedings of the Inquisition in Goa and other Indian cities, together with various interesting facts in connection with the attempt to establish the Holy Office in Brazil, is found in a duodecimo volume of 250 pages, pub-

of America. On the 30th of June, 1567, and again on March 15, 1568, the Cardinal-Infant D. Enrique, as Regent of Portugal, issued an edict forbidding the Marranos to settle in India and Brazil, which was only repealed when a ransom of 1,700,000 cruzados (\$714,000) was offered by the New Christians. A law, passed on May 21, 1577, accorded them the privileges of residence and free commerce, and any reproach against the names of Jew, Marrano or New Christian, says Dr. Kayserling, was strictly punishable.* This enormous monetary sacrifice, however, did not purchase lasting peace for the unfortunate *conversos*, for, says Dr. Kayserling,† “the law of March 15, 1568, was renewed, and the captains of ships received peremptory instructions to confiscate for the state treasury all the property of New Christians who should be found in their vessels, and to send them back to Portugal. If no ship happened to be ready to return to Portugal, the New Christians were to be carried to Goa, and were there to be retained in prison by the Inquisition until some ship set sail for the mother-country. The Inquisition was to deal in a similar manner with the Jews and New Christians who had already settled in the colonies; a number of them were to be sent back annually to Portugal, and thus the Indies were gradually to be purged.”

It appears from the notes made by a conscientious historian of the Inquisition that the principal objects of persecution

lished in Paris, and reprinted at Amsterdam, 1697, bearing the following title: *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa: A Paris: Chez Daniel Horthemels, rue Saint Jacques, au Mecoenas. M.DC.LXXXVIII. Avec privilege du roi.* This anonymous book (written by the physician Claude Dellon) on the Inquisition at Goa contains several vivid illustrations (wood-cuts) of the sufferings of those who were accused of heresy and Judaism. An English translation of this book was issued in London in 1688, by Henry Wharton, entitled, *History of the Inquisition as it is exercised at Goa.*

* Kayserling, *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 75; *Christopher Columbus*, p. 130.

† *Christopher Columbus*, p. 132.

at the hands of the Christian clergy in the newly acquired possessions of Hispañola were the various sects of Marranos or New Christians. Already the Spanish Inquisitor-General, Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, took heed that none of their number should find refuge in America. On the 7th of May, 1516, he appointed Fray Juan Quevedo, Bishop of Cuba, his delegate for the kingdom of *Terra Firma*, as the mainland of Spanish America was then called, and authorized him to select personally such officials as he needed to hunt down and exterminate the Marranos, who, despite all precautions, had sought the shelter of the new dominion in Hispañola and other places of America. Charles V, with the permission of Cardinal Hadrian, the Dutch Inquisitor and later Pope, issued an edict on May 25, 1520—at the time when bishoprics were few and far between in the New World—whereby he ordained Alonso Manso, Bishop of Porto Rico, and Pedro de Cordova, Vice-Provincial of the Dominicans, as Inquisitors for the Indies and the islands of the ocean.*

The New Christians in America were not only fugitive Jews from Europe, says Hoffmann;† there were among them many heathenish natives, who were forcibly converted by the mighty clerical arm of the Spanish conqueror, but who nevertheless remained at heart loyal to their hereditary belief and practised their idolatrous customs with as much zeal as the fear of discovery and consequent punishment would allow. The rigor and inhumanity of the yet unsystematic Tribunal knew no bounds. The Indians particularly were subject to the ire and cruelty of the newly established Holy Office. The fiendish atrocities com-

* Cf. W. H. Rule's *History of the Inquisition*, vol. II, pp. 15-16.

† *Gesch. d. Inquisition*, vol. II, pp. 40-41. After this paper was in type, the writer found that Hoffmann's data on the American Inquisition were largely taken from W. H. Rule's *History of the Inquisition from its establishment in the twelfth century to its extinction in the nineteenth*, London and New York, 1874, vol. II, pp. 13-32. Hoffmann, however, has acknowledged his indebtedness to him and other authorities in the Preface to vol. I, p. iii.

mitted against them in the name of the Christian faith are vividly recounted in a profusely illustrated Dutch narrative, whose title is given below in one of the notes, concerning the Inquisition in the West Indies. The copperplates accompanying that (now exceedingly rare) publication present a ghastly spectacle of the diabolical ingenuity employed by the divine agency in torturing the bodies of its victims. This fearful persecution depopulated the country to such an extent that the tyrants themselves perceived that they must desist for a while, and accordingly appealed to Charles V, recommending a discontinuance of the Inquisitorial scourge.* The Emperor also recognized the danger and issued an edict under date of October 15, 1538, commanding the Tribunal not to pay any more attention to the aborigines, but only to European immigrants and their offspring.† It is needless to state that this order was transgressed more than once. In fact many complaints reached the imperial ears concerning the renewed persecution of the Indians, and the law of 1538 was again put into force on October 18, 1549. In order to divert the tide of Inquisitorial fury, Philip II, who actually had a heart, as Hoffmann (p. 41) remarks, gave it out on January 25, 1569, that heresy is being reinforced by the circulation of books and false dogmas in America, in consequence of which the *Consejo de la Suprema* was organized.‡ This resulted in the firm establishment of the Holy Office in Mexico and Peru, as will be shown at length below.

The Marranos appear to have been quite prosperous

* Dr. Adler has kindly referred me, in this connection, to Arthur Helps' *Life of Las Casas, The Apostle of the Indies*, London, 1868, 2d ed., pp. 178-231, where a full history of the conversion of the Indians, and other matters referred to in the text, are given. See also his *Spanish Conquest in America* (London, 1855-61), Index, s. v. Indians.

† See Rule, *History of the Inquisition*, p. 16.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

for a while, so that, secure in their unrevealed identity, they became indiscreet, until the spies of the Holy Office found them out. It is well known that many secret Jews from Spain and Portugal settled very early in the Portuguese Indies, especially in Brazil, whither shiploads of them were exported annually to expiate for some offense or crime.* They are reported to have been scattered along the entire coast of the Portuguese colonies in the New World, and to have carried on an extensive trade in precious stones with Venice, Turkey and other countries. Just as soon as they could do so with impunity, they emerged from obscurity and reavowed the old Mosaic faith, which for a time only they were constrained to discard. We have documentary evidence to prove the patriotism and earnest zeal of the Marranos in the Indies and elsewhere. They were especially attached to the Dutch, under whose protection they enjoyed unqualified peace, and to show their gratitude, enlisted their persons and wealth in the conflict between Holland and Portugal.† King Philip II, in a letter addressed to Martin Affonso de Castro, Viceroy of the Indies, declares that two New Christians in Columbo were in active correspondence with the Dutch, and that several in Malacca reported their military plans to the Dutch. The secret Jews in the Indies sent considerable supplies to the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in Hamburg and Aleppo, who in turn forwarded them to Holland and Zealand. (See Appendix V.) It was this open boast of Jewish loyalty that called forth the edict of March 15, 1568, whose purport was communicated above. Despite the peremptory tone of the various imperial

* See Dr. Kayserling's note in his *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 294; *Christopher Columbus*, p. 129 seq. See especially, Appendix VII to this paper.

† Ample evidence for this statement is furnished by the writer in a paper entitled "Sketches of Jewish Loyalty, Bravery and Patriotism in the South American Colonies and the West Indies," in Hon. S. Wolf's *American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 443-484.

commands, it appears that the Marranos came to this country in great numbers, for in the beginning of the seventeenth century another edict was issued by Philip III.

"We command and decree," runs the message, "that no one recently converted to our holy faith, be he Moor or Jew, or the offspring of these, should settle in our Indies without our distinct permission. Furthermore, we forbid most emphatically the immigration into New Spain of any one [who is at the expiration of some prescribed penance] newly reconciled with the church; of the child or grandchild of any person who has ever worn the *sambenito* publicly; of the child or grandchild of any person who was either burnt as a heretic or otherwise punished for the crime of heresy, through either male or female descent. Should any one [falling under this category] presume to violate this law, his goods will be confiscated in behalf of the royal treasury, and upon him the full measure of our grace or disgrace shall fall, so that under any circumstances and for all times he shall be banished from our Indies. Whosoever does not possess personal effects, however, should atone for his transgression by the public infliction of one hundred lashes."*

There was no end of lashes, says Hoffmann;† nor were cases of confiscation rare, yet the immigration did not cease. Marranos and other objectionable heretics found a way through all obstacles, for we meet them everywhere, toiling and progressing and prospering. One needed only to understand the art or the trick of procuring a royal license. A merchant who paid a respectable amount of taxes for his commercial privileges was permitted to travel everywhere, regardless of his origin or family history, and even those of the lower classes could at any moment board a ship bound for Española or other American port if they

*The original document is printed in *Ordenanzas Reales para la Contratacion de Sevilla*, etc. (Valladolid, 1604). See also Rule's *History of the Inquisition*, l. c., pp. 18-19.

† Vol. II, p. 43; Rule, p. 19.

took care to gild the palms of the inferior officers with as much gold as their means would allow.*

Soon the number of the New Christians among the Spaniards and Americans in the Indies, writes Hoffmann (p. 43), "became considerable, and furnished the Inquisition sufficient material for the trial-chambers and prisons. Authentic memoirs of these cases may yet come to light from the libraries of Mexico and Peru and the archives of Spain and Portugal." In Brazil, where eminent authors and rabbis founded a colony in 1642, and where already in 1624 large numbers of our co-religionists flourished,† almost every ship that landed brought fresh recruits, who were transported thither by imperial order to serve sentence for the crime of heresy. Only the names of very few such culprits are preserved for us in historic annals. For example, at an *auto de fe* held on the 10th of May, 1682, in Lisbon—the grandest and most horrible in the history of the Portuguese Inquisition—many Jews were burnt, among them Pedro Serrão, son of the apothecary Antonio Serrão. A sister of Pedro's, 27 years old, an aged Jewess of 72, named Paula de Crasto, and Simon Henriquez, tenant of the crown-lands, who was twice before accused of Judaism, were exported to Brazil as penitent New Christians.‡ Two other persons

* See citation from the *Voyage of Francis Pryard* in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 95. Rule says, p. 19: "Spanish merchants of impure blood might pay their fees of office, and pass without notice beyond the ocean; or, through petty bribery to underlings, persons of inferior class could at any time emigrate; and thus a rapidly increasing multitude of New Christians was mingled with the Spanish-American population. These people brought constant work for the Inquisitors, who not only demanded aid of the secular arm, but were ever encroaching on the jurisdiction of the magistrates."

† See *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 3, pp. 104, 135 ff.; G. A. Kohut's paper in Wolf's *American Jew*, etc., p. 443 ff.

‡ See Michael Geddes, *View of the Court of Inquisition of Portugal*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, London, 1702, pp. 417-448. Geddes was an eye-witness of this *auto*. See also Don Miguel Levi de Barrios,

of Jewish origin met the same fate in another *auto de fe* celebrated at Lisbon, in 1683. One, a Jewess, 61 years old, who together with others, was arraigned and lashed for witchcraft, was sent to Brazil for five years. The other, Francisco Manoel Delgado, 43 years old, a merchant, was convicted of *Judaizing*. Fourteen days before, he was reconciled with the church in the chapel of St. Anna in Triana, the suburb of Seville, but avoided the heavy penance imposed upon him by flight. He was recaptured in Lisbon, but seems to have bought off his judges with a light sentence, banishment to Brazil for three years, clad in penitential robes, at the expiration of which time he might resume his commercial pursuits.* There are no doubt other lists of penance-doing heretics extant, scattered in various historical sources, not now accessible.†

It was not long before tribunals of the Holy Office were established in Mexico, Peru and Lima. After Cardina Enrique's death in 1580, Philip II of Spain assumed control of America, and permitted, if he did not command, the

Gobierno Popular Judayco, pp. 46, 47; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 305, and note 498 on p. 361; his *Geschichte der Jude in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 318. Fridolin Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Inquisition*, Bonn, 1878, vol. II, pp. 81, 82, erroneously calls the first named victim Serrao. Cf. also Rule's *History of the Inquisition*, vol. II, p. 69.

*See Hoffmann, p. 83. He says of Delgado: "Auch sein U. theil ist ein verhältnissmässig mildes, weil ein Jüdisch geborene Kaufmann sich rentabler erwies zum Scheeren als zum Schlachter. Wenn Delgado im Busskleide drei Jahre Verbannung in Brasilie überstanden hatte, konnte er sich den Geschäften wieder zuwenden um dann zu gelegener Zeit auf's Neue Wolle zu lassen." There is more truth than poetry in this historian's figure, borrowed from Rule's *History*, vol. II, p. 71: "This punishment seems comparatively light, but a Jew-born merchant was not a man to be killed. He could be robbed now and again, and being let loose after the three years convict life, could return to business and be made proof of at any convenient occasion."

†In Appendix VII there is given a list of some Marranos who were sent to Brazil for various crimes in the years 1682 and 1707.

introduction of the Inquisition * into a country yet in the innocence of infancy, upon whose altars strange fires had never

* According to Dr. M. Kayserling, however, *Christopher Columbus*, pp. 128, 129, the above-mentioned decree, dated October 5, 1511 (printed in his book, Appendix XVIII, pp. 169-171), introduced the Spanish Inquisition into the newly discovered lands, and full scope was given to its activity. B. Röse, in his article, *Inquisition*, published in the large Ersch and Gruber *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie*, II Section, vol. XVIII, p. 468, writes: "In der neuen Welt wurde 1516 die Inquisition eingeführt und die Tribunale daselbst unter einen besondern Generalinquisitor gestellt. Bloss die getauften Indianer, welche sich in mancher Beziehung wieder dem Heidenthume hingaben wurden anfänglich verfolgt, wodurch grosser Schaden erwuchs und Karl V gebot demnach 1538, dass nicht die Indianer, sondern die Europäer unter Aufsicht der Inquisition gestellt werden sollten. Diese hatten wenig zu thun, ihr Sitz war wandelnd, bis ihr 1569 eine festere Einrichtung gegeben wurde und erst 1571 wurden die beiden Tribunale zu Lima und Mexico für ganz America unter Aufsicht des Grossinquisitors und des grossen Rathes zu Madrid gestellt, und das zu Carthagena erst 1610 errichtet. Man hatte dort Mühe taugliche Subjecte zu diesen Aemtern zu erhalten da sich Niemand gern hierzu hergab." According to Llorente (quoted l. c. p. 471), under the jurisdiction of 44 "General-Inquisitors," whose office was abolished in 1808, there were publicly burned 31,912 individuals in person, 17,659 in effigy, and 291,456 were condemned to do penance; hence 341,021 of both sexes were victims of the Holy Office. From this number are, however, excluded the martyrs who were punished and tortured in Mexico, Lima, Carthagena, Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, Milan, Flanders, Malta, and other places. For other calculations see Röse *in loco* and p. 469; Herzog and Plitt's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, etc., s. v. *Inquisition*, vol. VI², Leipzig, 1880, p. 745, and McClintock and Strong's *Theological Cyclopaedia*, vol. IV, p. 605a. Prof. Albert Réville, in his Hibbert Lectures on the *Native Religions of Mexico and Peru*, American ed., New York, 1884, p. 103, states that the Inquisition was established in Mexico in 1571. It is recorded on good authority that one of the first victims of the Holy Office in Española was Diego Caballero of Barrameda, whose mother and father, Juan Caballero, according to the statement of two witnesses, had been persecuted and condemned by the Inquisition in Spain. Cf. *Collecion de Documentos inéditos rel. al descubrimiento, conquista y organizacion de las antiguas posesiones españolas. Segunda Serie*, Madrid, 1885, vol. I, p. 422, cited by Kayserling, *Christopher Columbus*, p. 129. Was Caballero a Jew?

before been burning. In justice to this cruel monarch, who scrupled not to torture his own son,* we must state that already, 30 years before, the dread fires of that fiendish agency were glaring in the rich empire of the Inkas. "Paramus, a creature like Torquemada and Lucero," writes Dr. Kayserling,† "who is astonished that the Jews in Mexico, notwithstanding all the obstacles put in their way, were able to sacrifice their Passover offering and celebrate their festival of freedom, tells us, with great gusto, of the first *auto de fe* in the New World, which took place in 1574 [not 1554, as Kayserling has it], the year of Fernando Cortez's death. Large tribunes were erected in the public place, and eighty unfortunate Judaizers died at the stake. The savage Indians were delighted with the flames, which burned from six o'clock in the morning till five in the evening; the festive music, the ringing of bells and the songs of the priests pleased them, and they burst out in wild rejoicings. The spectators, who had attended such festivities before, avowed that this ceremony would have been much finer than many others if the Court had only been present."‡

* *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 75.

† Cf. Paramus: *De origine et progressu officii sanctae Inquisitionis, eiusque dignitate et utilitate*, Madrid, 1598; Antwerp, 1619, ff. 242; cited by Dr. Kayserling in his *Sephardim; Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 295; his article, "Sephardic Jews in America," in *The Occident*, vol. XXVI, 1868, p. 217. S. R. Hirsch's *Jeschurun*, vol. III, 1857, pp. 415, 416; Isaac Marken's *The Hebrews in America*, New York, 1888, p. 3.

‡ His words, more elaborate in the Latin original, are given in Appendix I to this paper; see also Rule's *History*, vol. II, p. 18. "It is known that in 1574, the very year that the conqueror of Mexico, Hernan Cortés, died, the first *auto* was celebrated in the city of Mexico with great pomp; and, unless by the absence of royalty, was not inferior in grandeur to that of Valladolid, where Philip . . . so rigidly and ostentatiously fulfilled his vow to take vengeance on the heretics. At this first Mexican *auto*, it is related that a Frenchman, who had probably escaped the Bartholomew massacres, and an Englishman, were burnt as impenitent Lutherans. Eighty penitents were exhibited at the same time, some punish

This pious wish was soon destined to be realized, for almost immediately after the establishment of the Holy Office in 1580 or 1581 (?), a physician named Juan Alvarez of Zafra, who together with his wife, children and nephew, Alonzo Alvarez, lived according to the law of Moses (à la Ley de Moyses), were publicly burned at Lima, as adherents to Judaism. A few years later, in 1582, Manuel (Moses ?) Lopez of Yelves in Portugal, who was also called Luis Coronado, was led to the stake. He openly admitted that he was an Israelite, and proudly declared himself to be a staunch follower of his ancestral faith. In fact, it appeared that he, in company with other co-religionists, worshiped the God of Israel and observed the Mosaic laws in his own house. The same fate was in store for the merchant Duarte Nuñez de Cea, forty-one years of age, who died as bravely as he had lived for his religion. Before ascending the funeral pyre he confessed that as a Jew he had lived, observing the precepts of Judaism, and that it was his simple wish to die a Jew, as his ancestors had done. The learned physician, Alvaro Nuñez of Braganza, who lived in La Plata, Diego Nuñez de Silva, Diego Rodriguez de Silveyra (Silvera ?) of Peru, who settled in Guamanga, and many other unfortunate victims, succeeded him.*

On the 22d of June, 1636, says Don Juan Antonio Llorento,† the secretary of the Inquisition, an *auto de fe* was celebrated at Valladolid, on which occasion ten Judaizers (of the 28 condemned victims) were sacrificed.‡ We cannot ascertain whether a town in Spain is thereby indicated, or some locality of the same name in America. There

for *Judaizing*, and some for holding the opinions of Luther or Calvin . . . And a few others did sore penance for magic and superstition."

* Cf. Kayserling, *Publ. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 75; *Christopher Columbus*, pp. 133, 134.

† *Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, Paris, 1818, 2d ed., vol. III, p. 466.

‡ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X², Leipzig, 1882, p. 100.

is in Central America a city now called Comayagua, the capital of Honduras, formerly Valladolid, founded in 1540. The capital of Michoacan (Mexico) was called Valladolid from its foundation by the Spaniards in 1541 until 1828 when it was changed into Morelia, in memory of the revolutionary chief José Maria Morelos. And to this day the name survives in a town of the Mexican Confederation, in Yucatan. It will be remembered that Columbus died in Valladolid on May 20, 1506.*

On January 23, 1639, further narrates Llorente,† there was a great *auto de fe* at Lima, the capital of Peru.‡ Seventy-two were condemned to death, among them sixty-three adherents of Judaism, all Portuguese, and three non-Jews, who facilitated the intercourse between the victims. Eleven§ Mar

* See Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus*, p. 123.

† Vol. III, p. 469; cf. also Kayserling, *Sephardim*, etc., Leipzig 1859, p. 295; Leeser's *Occident*, vol. XXVI, p. 217; and Moïse Schwab's "Victimes de l'Inquisition au XVII^e siècle," in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. XXX, 1895, p. 100.

‡ "Le 23 janvier 1639, il y eut à Lima, capitale du Pérou, un *auto de fe* général où parurent soixante-douze condamnés, dont trois comme ayant facilité aux prisonniers les moyens de communiquer les uns avec les autres, et avec des personnes du dehors; un comme bigamie, cinq pour cause de sorcellerie, et soixante-trois qu'on avait accusés de judaïsme, et qui étaient Portugais ou enfans Juifs de cette nation; onze furent livrés au bras séculier, et brûlés vifs comme impénitens; un autre le fut en effigie pour s'être pendu dans sa prison. Dans cet *auto de fe*, on vit paraître avec honneur sur un siège élevé, et avec des palmes de chevalier, six individus de faux témoins avaient fait arrêter, et qui réussirent à prouver qu'on les avait injustement accusés, et qu'ils n'avaient pas cessé d'être bons catholiques. Parmi les Juifs obstinés il s'en trouva un fort savant dans l'Écriture sainte; il demanda à disputer avec des théologiens, et en confondit plusieurs qui n'étaient que d'ignorans scolastiques; d'autres cependant lui prouvèrent le véritable sens des prophéties, en les rapprochant des événemens qui étaient arrivés depuis le temps des prophètes."

§ So Kayserling. Graetz, however, says seventeen. Llorente whose words we have given in a footnote, says eleven also, which undoubtedly is correct. Mackenna, in his *Francisco Pizarro* (1841) has twelve.

Senor Don B. Vicuña Mackenna of Santiago, to whom we are indebted for many important items concerning the doings of the Holy Office in South America,* writes at length of this *auto de fe*. The first at which any one was burnt, says he, took place in Lima, on the 29th of October, 1581, for the purpose of celebrating the entry into that city of the viceroy, Don Martin Enriquez; in it were burnt Juan Bernal (a Jew?) and other heretics, and the last took place in 1776; . . . 29 *autos de fe* were celebrated during the 250 years of the existence of the Inquisition in America (1570-1820). According to Fuentes, during the period of 195 years (1581-1776) fifty-nine were burnt alive, eighteen in effigy, and the bones of nine others, in all eighty-six. Of the butcheries of the Inquisition at Carthagená, which was one of the three in America, I have not been able to obtain any account. "The most solemn and famous of the Peruvian *autos* was that which the Inquisitor Juan de Mañosa celebrated on the 23d of January, 1639, and in which were burnt twelve Portuguese (Jews) merchants, and, as it happened by a

seems to be an error, as all the other authorities reckon only thirteen. Basnage, in his *Histoire des Juifs*, English translation by Taylor, p. 695, writes that "The Jewish Historians make bitter complaints of the Continuance of these Violences at Corduba [Cordova], Lisbon and Coimbra, and even in the Indies, against the women as well as the men. They tell, that a physician call'd Sylva, who had been kept Prisoner thirteen years at Lima, and had led an exemplary Life, was no sooner thrown into the Flames, but an impetuous Wind and dreadful Tempest overturn'd the House where he had been condemned. Even the Indians were astonish'd at this Prodigy, and confess'd they never saw anything like it before." Here he interposes a note in which the date is erroneously given. He says: "An. 1693 at Lima, Sylva was Circumcis'd in his Imprisonment; he ate no Meat, he turned Nazarene, and was call'd Heli Nazareno indigno Siervo de Dios, alias Sylva." He refers to Cardoso, who must certainly have chronicled the correct date 1639. Not having access to the work at present, I cannot verify this statement.

* *Francisco Moyaen, or the Inquisition as it was in South America*, translated from the Spanish by J. W. Duffy, M. D., London, 1869, pp. 103, 174, 179, 189, 208.

curious coincidence, they were the richest men in Lima. One of these alone, Don Manuel Bautista Perez, owner of the regal residence in Lima which yet bears the name of the house of Pilate, possessed a fortune equivalent to a million dollars at the present day, and it was the sequestration of his effects, held by those who were indebted to him, by the rapacious myrmidons of the spoilers, which gave origin to the disturbances in Santiago and Coquimbo." In other places of his book he refers frequently to "the judaizing millionaire Manuel Bautista Perez and his wealthy (Jewish) companions." Sometimes he erroneously gives the date 1630 (p. 174). He wants to know (on p. 189) "what had become of the confiscated millions of the Judaizing merchants, Manuel Bautista Perez and his companions? What of the 200,000 ducats for which the Conde de Chinchon sold permission of residence to the 6000 Portuguese (also Judaizing because they were rich), and whom, for the purpose of robbing them, he threatened with expulsion? And lastly, what of the annual produce of the 32,000 dollars of Philip II, and of the suppressed canonships of Santiago, Lima and all the capitals of Spanish America south of the equator?"

Another who was burnt in that *auto de fe* (January 23, 1639) was the *judaizing* (for thus they called the Portuguese when they were rich) Don Diego Lopez de Fonseca, whom they accused of having a crucifix placed beneath a stone in the threshold of the door of his shop, and, as his informers asserted, to any one upon entering to purchase goods who would tread upon that stone, he would sell for half the price of what he would sell to another.* Three jailors of the Holy Office, convicted of having permitted some of the prisoners to hold communication with each other, were punished on this occasion.†

* Quoted in a monograph by Richard Palma, "Studies relating to the Inquisition of Lima," in the *South American Review*, Valparaiso, 1881; see Mackenna, *Francisco Moyan*, p. 105.

† Llorente reports the same fact, as was shown above.

In the year 1648 a little volume was printed in Mexico, entitled: *Account of the Third Particular auto de fe, celebrated by the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition of the kingdom and provinces of New Spain, in the cloister-chapel of the Holy Brotherhood of Jesus, March 13, 1648, at the time when the most illustrious Sirs Dr. Don Francisco de Estrada y Escovedo, Dr. Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca and Licentiate Don Bernabé de la Higuera y Amarilla officiated as Inquisitors.* This exceedingly scarce work contains the exact transcript of the legal proceedings on that memorable occasion. Hoffmann* tells us that no modern translation could possibly be made of this book written in "antediluvian Castilian style."† From the few facts gleaned by Rule, we learn that in the years 1646 and 1647, two special *autos de fe* were held, on which occasion seventy-one suits, most of them affecting Jews, were settled. In the *auto* of which the volume treats, 28 persons were duly sentenced and punished.

Rule quotes from this curious work the following paragraph in "precisely correspondent English," giving as faithful a version as possible of the original text:

"As indefatigable for vigilance of the care, and awake to the duties of the labour, the upright, just and holy Tribunal of the Inquisition of New Spain, always desiring to manifest to the Christian people, amidst the accustomed piety that is an attribute of their profession, and to make known to the world, in view of the clemency that is the boast of their glories, the necessary punishment and inevitable chastisement that is done on the heretical perfidy and rebellious obstinacy of the cruel and sanguinary enemies of our sacred religion; who, blind to its light, deny it, and deaf to its voice, flee from it. The Lords Inquisitors who act therein, anxious to gain in rich perfection the foreseen toil of their

* *Geschichte der Inquisition . . . in Spanien, Portugal, Italien, de Nederlanden, Frankreich, Deutschland, Süd-Amerika, Indien und China*, Bonn, 1878, vol. II, p. 44 seq.

† Rule, p. 20: It is "written in intricate out-of-date Castilian."

wakefulness, and the fruit of their unwearied labour, have celebrated two Particular Acts of Faith in the past years, 1646 and 1647, in which, with all attention and good order, were despatched, and went forth to public theatre, seventy-one causes: the greater part of them Jews, observant of the dead and detestable law of Moses. And now, for particular and convenient ends, not open to the investigation of curiosity, and not without well-advised resolution, this Holy Tribunal determined to celebrate another Particular Act of Faith in the Church of the Professed House of the Sacred Religion of the Company of Jesus, one of the most capacious and convenient for the purpose, that there are in the city, on March 30th, 1648. In which were put to penance and punished (manifesting its severity no less than its clemency and pity) twenty-eight persons, as well men as women, for the atrocious delinquencies and grave crimes by them perpetrated, that in this brief and summary relation shall be told. The guilty penitents going out of the prisons of the Inquisition, each one between two ministers of the Holy Tribunal, at six o'clock in the morning, without any obstruction of the way, or disturbance of good order, from the numerous multitudes of people that were packed close on both sides of the broad streets, but who gave good way to the criminals until they reached the said Church: where after the orderly procession of penitents was brought in, and the Lords Inquisitors were seated in their tribunal, it being then seven o'clock in the morning, the noise of the people that attended being hushed, in good and prescribed order began the reading of the causes, and continued until six o'clock in the evening; and the guilty having abjured, and they with whom that business had to be done being absolved and reconciled, they took them back in the same form and order to the house of the Inquisition, whence they had come by different streets, with the same accompaniment. And the day following the justice of lashes was executed; all this kingdom remaining in hope of another more numerous and General Act, for

exaltation and glory of our Holy Catholic faith, punishment and warning of her enemies, edification and instruction of the faithful." So far this barbaric chronicle.

Of the many cases recorded by Rule* (pp. 21-32) we shall relate only one—the story of a Jewess who was in the fullest sense of the word an *Ēshēth Hāyil*.

Anna Xuares, described in the Inquisitorial records as 25 years old, a native of Mexico, was one of the victims upon whom the lynx eye of holy suspicion rested. She figured conspicuously in the trial of 1648, of which we have spoken above. Her parents were previously punished as *judaizers* by the Holy Office. About a year before (in 1647) Anna's first marriage was, for some unknown reason, declared invalid. Her husband was still alive and compelled to do penance in the *sambenito*† garb. He was sentenced to the galleys for five years, at the expiration of which term he was to settle down in some specially appointed place. Anna married a second time. Almost immediately afterwards, without the least warning or provocation, they were ruthlessly separated and taken into custody, to await the pleasure of the merciless agency. After spending a few days in prison, Anna appealed to the mercy of the court. She was granted a hearing, and the following confessions, or rather imputations were made. Since her fourteenth year she has rigidly observed the fast days and other ceremonial observances of the Mosaic law. Her maternal grandmother is said to have encouraged and personally attended the secret

* See also G. A. Kohut, "Some Jewish Heroines," in *The American Jewess*, October, 1895, vol. II, No. 1, p. 47, No. 67.

† Richard Palmer, in his curious episodes concerning the Inquisition at Lima, published in the *South American Review* (1861), erroneously attributes the name of *sambenito* to the intervention in the first *autos de fe* of certain monks of the Order of San Benito (St. Bennett). But the name is derived from *saco bendito* (blessed sack). In form it was similar to the aprons worn by the friars over their cassock as the scapulary of their order, and was a very essential part in the Inquisitorial celebrations. Cf. Mackenna's work, p. 212.

(religious ?) meetings at the house of one Simon Vaez,* in Seville, where discussions were carried on concerning the dietary laws, the religious usages and kindred topics relating to Jewish ceremonial life. All attendants at those gatherings were in so far guilty of participation in the said proceedings, that they related to each other instances of their unswerving allegiance to the ancient commandments, and exchanged cheerful confidences, whereby their loyalty could only be strengthened.

These Jews, we are told, constituted a sort of *conciliabulum*, a mock council, where the Catholics were consigned to eternal damnation (Rule). Of the pious practices of that holy sect, their processes and processions and the like, they spoke in an insolent, profane manner, "so that the living hate which these miserable and obstinate Jews carried in their perfidious hearts openly manifested itself."

An old Jewess, "the notorious grand-mistress of unbelief," used to preside over this false council, and was wont to boast with arrogance of her children and grandchildren, who were staunch and dauntless champions of their race, having been conscientiously instructed in the path of the Jewish fathers even from infancy. They made rapid progress in sacred things—fasted to perfection—in short, they were esteemed by the entire Jewry (of Mexico?).

One of her special favorites was Anna Xuares, who seemed surcharged with true inspiration for her ancestral faith—an enthusiasm which developed with each succeeding day. She is said to have loved her second husband much more than the first, and it was even rumored that she gave him her hand and heart with greater willingness, not because he was a better Jew, but simply for the reason that the father of her second husband was the victim of an *auto de fe* in Portugal.†

* Persons bearing this name lived contemporaneously in Amsterdam and Algiers. See Kayserling's *Sephardim*, p. 258.

† She herself was probably descended from Albert Xuarez, who, with twenty-two other Jews, was burnt at the stake in Murcia, on March 15, 1562. Cf. Llorente, vol. II, p. 340; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 152.

While she was in prison she carried on an active correspondence with several of her fellow-sufferers, and knowing full well the deftness of the Inquisitorial spies, she successfully evaded them by signing fictitious names to her epistles. In the billets which she handed to her companions (who were undoubtedly Israelites) she made merry over the *sambenitos* which they all had to wear, saying that they ought to be more elaborately draped, like all garments of honor, for they were actually raiments of honor, not of disgrace, as they were intended. They are ornaments for those who have honestly deserved them. The following sentence was pronounced in punishment of the offence of the Jewess Anna Xuares: She was to appear at the coming *auto*, clad in penitential garb and carrying a green wax candle; confiscation of her property; formal abjuration; life-long confinement to a certain locality as residence; to be forever banished from the West Indies (perhaps her relatives lived there?); and transported to Old Spain on the first imperial vessel leaving from the port of St. Juan de Ulloa; to be forever banished from Seville, the old family seat, and from the royal residence at Madrid; finally, she was in duty bound, upon landing in Old Spain, to present herself immediately before the Holy Office, that she might be known by all and enter at once upon the fulfillment of the duties and penances prescribed and designated, in the place to be there assigned. Should she fail in the performance of any of these injunctions she would be punished, as impenitent, with death.*

There are no doubt many interesting items† concerning

* Hoffmann, pp. 45-50, recounts the story of Anna Xuares in a briefer form.

† Besides Llorente and other modern works on the Holy Office above cited, see especially, *A Complete History of the Inquisition in Portugal, Spain, Italy, East Indies and West Indies*, by the Rev. Mr. Baker, M. A., Westminster, 1736; *Memorias para servir á la Historia de las Persecuciones de la Iglesia en America*, Lima, 1821; D. Antonio Puigblanch, *La Inquisicion sin Máscara*, etc., Mexico, 1824, and Fridolin Hoffmann's *Geschichte der Inquisition*, vol. II, pp. 37-56.

the activity of the Inquisition in Mexico, a few of which, affecting our co-religionists, we have succeeded in recovering from oblivion. Puigblanch, in his *Inquisition Unveiled*, p. 106 (Spanish edition, Mexico, 1824), gives a detailed account of an *auto de fe* held in Mexico, in 1659, and mentions among the accused two Jews whose names are given in no other record. His information was derived from a contemporary chronicle written by Rodrigo Ruiz de Zepeda, entitled *Auto general de fe celebrado en Mexico en 1659*. It is said there: "Francisco Botello, dice la citada relacion se hebo tan descaradamente en el tablado, que diciendole uno de los confesores que pretendio convencerle del judaismo, que mirase como verdaderamente era judio, pues su muger estaba alli tambien penitencia por ello, levantó los ojos para verla con tan grande alegria y alborozo, como si fuera el dia de mayor contento para él que en su vida hubiese tenido, é hizo mucha diligencia para hablarla, pero no lo consignio porque le desendieron dos gradas mas abajo.' Los reos pues ya que otra cosa no podian se exhortaban con seuas [señas?] á mantenerse firmes en la religion que profesaban, ó á seguir en su proposito cuando no profesaban ninguna. Diego Diaz, añade la misma relacion, totalmente se declaró judio en el tablado y asi con los dos reos Aponte (another of the condemned at the same *auto*) y Botello se estaban haciendo señas como animandose para morir en su caduca ley y reprehendido por uno de los religiosos que le asistian respondió; Pues padre ¿no es bien que nos exhortemos á morir por Dios? Y como le replicase que siendo judio no moria por Dios, sino en desgracia suya y ofendiendole, se endureció del todo sin querer como antes la santa cruz en la mano." Both Botello and Diaz were apparently staunch Israelites, who were pronounced impenitent by the Mexican tribunal and condemned accordingly (cf. also Puigblanch p. 59).

The same author refers to one of the greatest of Sephardic poets, Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna, who spent the major

portion of his life in Jamaica, where he wrote his famous *Espejo*.* It is of interest to us to know that he was the first and only American Jewish bard to refer to the Inquisition. We are not yet in possession of even the outlines for a complete history of the Jewish martyrs of the American Inquisition, for the sources are scant and hardly accessible in public libraries. Paramus states in his *Origin and Progress of Holy Inquisition* (1599), fol. 242, that there was scarcely a year which did not witness a solemn *auto de fe* where Jews were punished. They must surely have been recorded. Paramus also notes the following curious facts: "In the year 1592, a certain Jewish family, polluted by the pest of heresy, were publicly announced penitent, and the status of Franciscus Rodriguez Matos, a Portuguese [Jew], the head of the family and author of these crimes [of heresy who was already dead, was consigned to the flames by law because he was a dogmatist and a Rabbi of the Jewish sect. His wife and four daughters were reconciled openly in the sacred garb of penitence. He had a son who inherited all his crimes, and whose effigy, because he had escaped from the country in the year following, was burnt at a certain *auto de fe* held in the Mexican church."

It must not be omitted, however, that the young daughter of this most depraved man, 17 years old (of the four mentioned above), recited the whole Psalter of David without hesitation, so wonderful was her memory. The oration preceding Esther (?) and some other Jewish songs she could recite in inverted order from beginning to end with equal facility.†

* See *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 3, pp. 110-112; 140-141.

† See Appendix III to this paper.

‡ Cf. Appendix I to this paper, and Kayserling's article "Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna," in S. R. Hirsch's *Jeschurun*, vol. I. Frankf. a. M., 1857, p. 416.

§ See the original, in Appendix I.

The uncle of these four women, Louis de Carvajal,* underwent public penance because he had not denounced the crimes of his family and even concealed them. He was Governor and General of the province of Tampico (in Mexico) and Panucio (?), and was addressed with the title of President. He had now to hear openly his ignominious sentence, was forever deprived of royal offices and reduced to the utmost misery. At last he went the way of all flesh in bitter grief and utter disgust of life.

Was he identical with Luis del Marmol Carvajal mentioned by Puigblanch ?† It would be interesting to discover in the archives of Mexico the full account of the exposé of this distinguished man, who held a responsible public trust, but who as a secret Jew remained true to his faith and his family, both of which he shielded at any risk.‡ Especially important are the data and facts recorded in the MS material preserved in the British Museum, notably in the so-called Documentos Historicos de Mexico, which contain among other papers an authentic account of a convention of priests—a general council—wherein Emperor Charles V, King of Spain, and representatives of the clergy of Mexico, Guatemala and Oaxaca participated. The date of this congress is given as November, 1537. Soon afterwards, a smaller meeting of divines was held in the “city of Thenuxtillan [Mexico] of New Spain.” The first Bishop of Mexico, Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, with several of his colleagues, was present.

* Many of the persons mentioned here and in Appendix I, figure prominently in the “Trial of Jorge de Almeida by the Inquisition in Mexico,” printed in this *Publication*, by Dr. Adler.

† See *La Inquisicion sin Máscara*, etc., Mexico, 1824, p. 108. Dr. Adler discusses his identity, p. 60, note, in this *Publication*. See also Helps' *Spanish Conquest of America*, vol. IV, Index, s. v. Carvajal and Carvajal.

‡ Other matters in connection with the Mexican Inquisition will be found in Fr. Juan de Torquemada's *Monarchia indiana*, esp. lib. xix, cap. xxix, and *Fragmento de dicha relacion reimpresso en el Diano de México de 6 de Abril de 1807*.

The result of their proceedings was dispatched to the Emperor under date of April 17, 1539.*

Another martyr was put to death seemingly about the same time either in Mexico† or Lima. The conflicting histories leave it in doubt which is the true place. This was the Doctor Thomas (Isaac) Tremiño or Trebiño de Sobremonte,‡ a Marrano from Medina de Rio Seco, which city, on account of its extended commerce, was formerly called Little India. After a confinement of twenty-two years he died in the flames.§

* Hoffmann, *Gesch. d. Inquisition*, vol. II, p. 39 seq., gives some of the details. Rule, p. 14 seq., gives extracts from this report.

† As will be seen from the extracts in Appendix II, some authorities state that Tomas Trebiño was executed in Mexico in 1549, not contemporaneously with the *auto de fe* celebrated in Mexico in 1574, as Kayserling (who in his *Sephardim* has erroneously 1547) would have us believe. This date, however, must be incorrect, for it is assumed that the Inquisition was ordered to be established in America the 7th of February, 1569, by the royal letters patent of Philip the Second. In consequence of which were created the three Grand Inquisitors of Mexico, Carthagená, and Lima, to the last of which was assigned the jurisdiction of Chile. The first appointment was made in Panama, June 20, 1569: the second in Lima, January 29, 1570 (see Mackenna's *Francisco Moyn*, p. 100; Rule, p. 17; F. Hoffmann, *Gesch. d. Inquis.*, vol. II, p. 42). According to these historians the first *auto de fe* was held in Mexico in 1574. Hoffmann gives an extensive account of it. Juan Torquemada, whose description of an *auto de fe* is given in Appendix IV, tells us in his *Indian Monarchy*, vol. III, p. 379, that nine *autos de fe* were celebrated from 1574 to 1593.

‡ Dr. A. Jeilinek in his article, "Opfer der Inquisition," in Fuerst's *Litteraturblatt des Orients*, Leipzig, 1847, p. 263, writes: "Nach einer 14 jährigen Kerkerstrafe wurde Thomas Tremiño de Sobremonte in Mejico (Mexico) ein glorreicher Märtyrer." He was in prison 22 years, not 14. In a later article on the same subject, published in S. I. Gräber's *Ozar Hassifruith*, Krakau, 1888, vol. II, p. 204, he repeats his error: אחר אשר ככל טאמס טערמינא רע זאברעמונטע וישב כ"ד שנה במאסר הכלא נהרג ע"ק השם במע"צא [Mexico!] Prof. Graetz calls him Thomas Trebinjo (Termino de Sobremonte).

§ Cf. Cardoso, *Las Excellencias*; he names him Trebiño and places his death in Mexico. Menasseh ben Israel writes: "Y este año en Mexico, Thomas Terbiño [*sic*], celebros con grande constancia su

As has been shown, the Inquisition was most powerful in Mexico. It was terribly severe in Carthagená and Lima. Whether other American countries were under its tyrannic sway cannot be asserted with any degree of certainty. Some say* that the Spaniards introduced the Holy Office in Brazil simultaneously with its establishment at Goa.† That officers were commissioned to watch in behalf of the Inquisition in Brazil also,‡ even though the torture chamber and the funeral pyre were not actually erected, is attested by the sad stories of Isaac de Castro Tartas and Don Antonio José

Martirio." The Hebrew version has טוֹמִי"ש טַעֲרִינָא which of course ought to read טַעֲרִינָא. He also places his death in Mexico. Don Miguel de Barrios, one of the proudest lights of Spanish Jewish literature, speaks of him at length, but does not seem to be quite clear concerning his identity. Indeed, as Drs. Kayserling (*Sephardim*, p. 360, note 489) and Graetz have pointed out, Barrios confused Trebiño with da Silva, called Eli Nazareno (cf. *supra* in the text and notes). He cites him in many of his works and composed two interesting sonnets in his honor, one of which, superscribed with the words "La ciudad de Medina de Rioseco, produjo al insigne Thomas Tremiño de Sobremonte," runs in part thus:

Que tres cometas brillan en el cielo?
Que tres nuevos luzeros ví la tierra?
Que tres milagros den al horror guerra?

See for particulars his works cited in Kayserling's *Sephardim*, his article in the *Occident*, Steinschneider's *Hebräische Bibliographie*, Bd. VII, 1864, p. 40, and especially p. 133.

* Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*, vol. VI, p. 745: "Jene [the Spaniards] führten sie in Amerika bald nach der Entdeckung des Landes ein, wo sie namentlich in Mexico, Cartagena und Lima furchtbar wütete. Diese brachten sie 1560 nach Ostindien, wo sie in Goa ihren Hauptsitz fand; ebenso nach Brasilien. Erst in unserem Jahrhundert ist sie dort aufgehoben worden."

† Cf. *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, Paris, 1688, p. 206 ff.

‡ See B. Röse's article in Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopædie*, section II, vol. XVIII, Leipzig, 1840, p. 472, note 18: "Ob die Amerikanischen Besitzungen, Brasilien, wie von einigen bezweifelt wird, auch von Tribunalen der Inquisition bewacht und gequält wurden, dürfte schwerlich bestritten werden können. Besondere Angaben darüber haben sich nicht gefunden."

da Silva. Johann Jacob Schudt, a disciple of Eisenmenger, writes in his celebrated *Memorabilia Judaica** that Jews in Brazil did not suffer from the fear of the Inquisition, partly because they had contributed not a small share to the welfare of Brazil and partly because the introduction of the Holy Office would have ruined trade and commerce. Despite such emphatic denials, however, we have every reason for believing, on the strength of evidence to be adduced later, that the zealous clergy of South America, who, according to Schudt, made strenuous efforts in that direction, did succeed in establishing the dread tribunal in Brazil. Even Dr. Kayserling, who is very conservative on this score, leaves the question open. "Brazil, the most blessed empire on earth," says he,† "was the only portion of the New World where the Jews, for a time at least, were not burned." De Beauchamp and Southey, however, in their respective his-

* *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, etc., Frankfurt a. M. and Leipzig, 1714-18, 4to, vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 54, 55: "In Brasilien ist es für solche verstellte Juden nicht ebenso gefährlich | weil da die Inquisition, als die Pest und Verderben der Handlung | nicht gelidten wird | dann weil einige Particuliers, welche bey dess Landes Eroberung viel mit beygetragen | grosse Länder | und einiger massen an der Regierung mit Theil haben | so leiden sie die Inquisition in Brasilien nicht | wie dann Anonymous im neuesten Staat des Koenigreichs Portugall (Halle, An. 1714 in 8.) p. 284, solches bestätigt | dann die Portugiesen erkennen wohl | dass die Inquisition der Handelschaft grossen Abbruch thue | dahero sie auch niemals zugeben wollen | dass selbige in Brasilien eingeführet wuerde | ohnerachtet aller der Clerisey desswegen angewandter Bemühung. In andern Orten aber der Spanier | und Portugiesen ist es vor solche heimliche Juden gefährlich | Basnage *Hist[oire] de [la religion des], Juifs [depuis J. Christ jusqu'à present.]*, (Rotterdam, 1707-1711, 8vo; new ed. 15 vols.: Haage, 1716, 12mo), L. 7, C. 33, §9, p. 2130, bezeuget | dass nur einzelle Juden von den verstellten umb sich in dieser Neuen-Welt zubereichern | dahin gehen | welche aber die Inquisition daselbst verfolget | und die oft ihren Geitz und Liebe zum Reichthum hart genug bestraffet." De Costa, *Israel and the Gentiles*, Germ. ed., 1855, p. 318, says that in Brazil they were not molested by the Inquisition and that great numbers were there.

† *Sephardim*, p. 296; Leeser's *Occident*, vol. XXVI, p. 218; Markens' *Hebrews in America*, New York, 1888, p. 3.

tories of Brazil,* record that during the Portuguese reconquest of Brazil from the Dutch, brief as that supremacy was, at least five Jews who had been friendly to the Dutch were executed.

That our co-religionists did not fare so well in Brazil as is usually supposed, has been proven by various writers.† Suffice it here to quote what Watson says, p. 47, under date of 1644: "At length, however, the time came when his practices [Fernandes'] could no longer be ignored by the government, who were set on their guard against him chiefly by the Jews. These are certainly not to be blamed for wishing a continuance of the *status quo*; since, in the event of an outbreak, they were certain to be plundered by both parties with complete impartiality; whilst in the event of a victory on the part of the Portuguese, they had before them the image of the fiendish agents of the Inquisition." It seems that this surmise was justifiable, for, on the following page, he informs us that Fernandes could not be captured and summoned troops. "Many obeyed the call and fell upon such Dutchmen and Jews as happened to be within their reach."‡ In another place he says (p. 119): "Bahia owed its prosperity, amongst other causes, to its being a place of safety for the New Christians, who were persecuted with such cruelty in Portugal and Spain. Superstitious as were the Brazilians, even they successfully resisted the establishment of the Inquisition amongst them. If the

* Quoted in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 1, p. 44; see also the writer's paper on "Early Jewish Literature in America," in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 3, pp. 103, 134 and 135, note 1.

† See Pieter Marinus Netscher's *Les Hollandais au Brésil, Notice Historique sur les Pays-Bas et le Brésil au XVII^e siècle*, La Haye, 1853, pp. 14, 20, 35, 94, 128, 142, 145, 153, 154, 197, 202, 204; R. G. Watson's *Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period*, London, 1884, vol. II, pp. 1, 2, 29, 47, 48, 119 and 242, where some valuable information is given.

‡ See on this more fully the writer's paper published in Wolf's *American Jew as Soldier*, etc., pp. 443 seq.

New Christians were in Brazil a despised race, they could at any rate count on opportunities of gaining wealth and retaining it when gained.”* Further on we read the following interesting note (p. 242): “Happily for Brazil, that country never boasted an establishment of the Inquisition. Nevertheless some of the agents of the Holy Office had found a field for their energies on the other side of the Atlantic. These agents had arrested and sent to Lisbon a large number of New Christians—persons fulfilling every duty of citizenship, but whose crime it was to be wealthy. These unfortunate people, having confessed to being Jews, escaped with their lives at the expense of all their property, which of course went to the informers. In consequence of this profitable practice, many *engenhos* [?] had to be stopped, and widespread ruin ensued. Even Pombal did not venture to proclaim toleration for the Jewish faith, but he made it penal for any person to reproach another for his Jewish origin,† whilst he removed all disabilities attaching to Jewish blood, even if their ancestors had suffered at the hands of the Inquisition. He likewise published an edict decreeing severe chastisement against such persons as should retain lists of persons of Jewish origin.”

As we have seen, the sources relating to the establishment of the Sacred Agency in Brazil are conflicting and contradictory. Only in the case of Mexico, Peru and other places of Central and South America are the records clear and unanimous.‡

* See the account of the prosperity and wealth of Brazilian Jews in *Pub. Am. Jewish Hist. Soc.* No. 2, p. 95.

† This is similar to the law passed on May 21, 1577, forbidding under penalty to call them any longer Jews, Marranos or New Christians. (See above, p. 2.)

‡ On the outrages and *autos de fe* enacted at Lima we have authentic material in a volume entitled *Historia del Tribunal del S. Oficio de la Inquisicion de Lima* (1569–1820), compiled by J. T. Medina, to whom we are beholden for preserving to us the names of some Jewish martyrs on this continent.

annals of history—Isaac de Castro Tartas. So were his end and career that many authors took sion to narrate them in prose, poetry and song.* He relative of the celebrated court-physician Elias (E Montalto,† and of the Amsterdam publisher, David ben ham de Castro Tartas,‡ whose press has enriched literature. He was born in the village of Tartas in French province of Gascony (Gascogne), which he call

* Cf. Menasseh ben Israel's *קקוה ישראל*; Spanish ed., pp. 8 (Appendix VI*) Hebrew, pp. 52b-53a; Latin version, p. 89. Cardoso, *Las excelencias y calunias de los Hebreos*, Amsterdam, p. 324 ff.; Salomon de Oliveyra: *שרשת נבליה*, Amsterdam, 152b; Don Miguel Levi de Barrios: *Gobierno popular Judayco, Historia da Inquisição*, p. 271; Dr. M. Kayserling: "Isaac de Tartas," in Dr. J. Kobak's *Jeshurun, Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Jahrg. II, Lemberg, 5618, pp. 97-100; *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 204-6; 347, nos. 255-256a; his *Juden in Nordden Baskenländern und auf den Balearen*, Berlin, 1861, p. 15; *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, pp. 308-310; D. C. *Lehrbuch der jüdischen Geschichte und Literatur*, Leipzig, 1879, Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X², Leipzig, 1882, pp. 10; Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, Utrecht, 1843, pp. calls him simply Isaac de Castro, and refers only to his death.

† See concerning him, *Sephardim*, pp. 176, 201 and notes must remember Dr. Montalto with gratitude because he converted Rohel (Rüel) Jeshurun, alias Paul de Pina, who in 15 sent to him in Livorno, before his promotion as body-physician Maria de Medici, by his kinsman Diego Gomez Lobato (also an Abraham Cohen Lobato) with the intention of becoming a (Frayle). After his return to Portugal he repaired, together his cousin Lobato, to Brazil, whence he returned in the year Cf. also Barrios, *Casa de Jacob*, p. 18; *Relacion de los Poetas flores*, p. 54; Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, vol. I, p. 1014, No [erroneously *Dina*]; III, p. 909, No. MDCCCXI, c, and p. 98 MCMIX, s. v. *רוהל ישרון* and *פינה רי*; Ad. de Castro

home, for it was the ancestral seat of his family.* At the time when Brazil was under Dutch supremacy, young Castro went to Bahia and lived for several years in a city of this region—Parahiba. When, one day, heedless of the counsel and warnings of his numerous friends in that town, he visited the capitol da Bahia dos Santos, he was immediately recognized and seized by the vigilant Portuguese spies of the Holy Office and transported to Lisbon, there to await trial before the Tribunal. Already at the first hearing he confessed that he was a Jew, and that he desired to live and die as a faithful professor of that religion. Although the judges knew by past experiences that no logic or learning could convince a Jew condemned by them, especially one so well versed in history, theology and the classical languages as was this young martyr, they gave themselves no end of trouble and pains to convert him, and sent shrewd, sanctimonious and worldly-wise priests to argue him into rejecting his faith and accepting the dogmas of the Church. But he was proof against oily-tongued friars. Conscious of the truth of his divine mission as an Israelite, and nothing daunted by the fearful prospect of a horrible death, he resisted bravely and, with a defiance that is magnificently heroic, he announced his intention of ending his life in glory and praise of Israel's God. He furnished his many friends and relatives an example of fortitude and self-sacrifice of which only a devout believer could be capable. Feeling intuitively the near approach of his end, yet not wishing to apprise them of his sad forebodings, he wrote to his parents in Amsterdam that he proposed going to Rio de Janeiro in order to imbue some of his friends there (who were known as Marranos) with a greater fear of God. At the same time he told them not to expect letters from him for four years to come. Before the expiration of the stated time the dread news of his martyrdom was communicated to his

* See Kayserling in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, Jahrg. II, p. 97.

anxious and sorrowing relatives and friends. He died as he had lived, a hero and a saint.

The *auto de fe* was erected over six persons,* but none were so firm and brave as he. After standing many hours at the stake, when the livid flames were already scorching his skin and licking his face, suffused with a halo brighter than the flaring funeral fire, he suddenly summoned all his remaining strength and cried out for the last time, שמע ישראל יהוה אחד (Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God the Lord is One). With the word "One," he, like Rabbi Akiba† of old, expired. This was indeed an *auto de fe* in its literal sense—"an act of faith," hallowed by suffering and pious devotion. We are told‡ that he uttered this sublime confession so touchingly that the witnesses of the dread ceremony, and even the judges themselves, were moved to the soul with pity and remorse. For several days after the execution nothing was heard but the story of his tragic end. It was the general topic of conversation in every circle, and years afterwards the people of Lisbon delighted to recite the thrilling words of the *Sh'mā*, so that the Inquisition was constrained to forbid, under heavy penalty, the indulgence of this pleasure.§ The date of this *auto de fe* is variously given. We shall have to accept the one established by Dr. Kayser-

* Among the condemned on that occasion, sixty were otherwise punished, either with lifelong imprisonment or penal servitude. Cf. Dr. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 308; *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 347, n. 255, and p. 354, n. 371.

† The martyrdom of Hanina ben Theradion and Akiba ben Joseph is chronicled in the Talmud (*Berachoth* 9^a and *Aboda Zarah* 18^a) and is beautifully told in Rev. L. Weiss' *Talmudic and Other Legends*, 2d ed., New York, 1888, pp. 105-108; see also Dr. A. Kohut's article on "R. Akiba ben Josef," in *Menorah Monthly*, vol. III, 1887, pp. 350-1.

‡ Kayserling, *Sephardim*, pp. 205, 206.

§ Cf. Cardoso, *Las excelencias*, p. 325; Kobak's *Jeschurun*, Jahrg. II, p. 98; Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 309.

ling and Graetz,* December 15th (22d), 1647.† Great were the sorrow and mourning of the Jewish congregation in Amsterdam when the news of the martyrdom of this twenty-four year old youth came from Lisbon. He was well known in Amsterdam, and was much esteemed for his learning and character. The Rabbi Saul Levi Morteira, who was the teacher and excommunicator of the philosopher Spinoza, delivered an impressive memorial sermon, and the celebrated Hebrew poet Salomon ben David Israel de Oliveyra‡ dedicated to him a beautiful Hebrew poem, which we give in

*See the references given above; furthermore, Em. Hecht's *Handbuch d. israel. Geschichte*, ed. by Kayserling, Leipzig, 1879, p. 126; and also *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. XVIII, 1889, p. 285.

†Menasseh ben Israel does not give the date in his *Esperança*; Cardoso, *Las excelencias*, p. 324 ff., gives the same date, as does Oliveyra in the superscription to his Hebrew elegy, in *Sharsh. Gabl.*, p. 52 seq. Barrios fixes it at the 23d of September, 1647 (*Gobierno popular Judayco*, p. 44). Zunz, following Barrios, writes in *Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1855, p. 343, "on 13. Sept., 1647, Isaac de Castro Tartas was burned at Lisbon." This error is repeated by S. L. Grossmann, in his *Möddim v'Simcha*, etc., Fünfkirchen, 1885, p. 250, *ad voc.* Elul 13: "Wurde 5407 (13 September, 1647) Isak de Castro Tartas in Lissabon durch die Inquisition getödtet." Of course, 13 is a misprint for 23, as Dr. Kayserling corrects in his *Sephardim*, p. 347, note 255. Dr. Graetz maintains against Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. X², p. 102, note 1, that Oliveyra did not desire to indicate the date of Tartas' martyrdom in his superscription, which reads: חורש שבט ה'ת"ח (Kayserling amends ה'ת"ח), but the date of the composition of his poem, for the beginning of Shebath 5418 is equivalent to January 25th, 1648, the month when the tidings of his destiny reached Amsterdam. The *Historia da Inquisição*, p. 271, states that he died at the *auto de fe* celebrated on December 15, 1647: "Morreo queimado vivo por herege un Francez natural da Cascunha." See furthermore, Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 347, n. 255; *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 308, n. 4. Dr. M. Steinschneider, in his large *Catalogus librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berlin, 1852-60, pp. 2381-2, n. 6964¹⁰, calls him Tartaz.

‡Concerning his life and works, see especially Dr. M. Kayserling's article, "Zur Literatur der spanisch-portugiesischen Juden," in Frankel's *Monatsschrift f. d. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judth.*, vol. X, 1861, pp. 432-6.

Appendix VI to this paper. Other poets, among Jonas Abravanel (or Abrabanel, Abarbanel), son of Abrabanel and a nephew of Menasseh ben Israel, honor name in Portuguese and Spanish verses.* So powerful the impression which Castro's death made upon the zealous Inquisitors that they determined not to institute any *autos de fe*. This resolution, however, did not prevent the tribunals from sacrificing upon the funeral pyre, about years after that melancholy event, another Jewish martyr. Lisbon, named Manuel Fernandes de Villa-Real.†

Rio de Janeiro, it appears from the records, furnished many victims to the insatiable fury of the Inquisition. Thus we are told by Dr. Kayserling‡ that it was not unusual to transport suspected Marranos from the capital of Brazil to Lisbon, where they were duly arraigned and condemned, often without trial. At the *auto de fe* held on the 10th of October, 1723, the following persons, all from Rio de Janeiro, were sentenced: The miner Diego Lopez Simon, 26 years old, was executed; the student Joseph Gomez de Paredes, aged 24, and his elder brother Francisco de Paredes were condemned to lifelong imprisonment; Catalina Marques, who already on October 24th, 1712, was punished for her adherence to Judaism; and, sad to relate, the aged Matheus de Moura Fogaza, 84 years old, a resident of Rio de Janeiro was burned at the stake as an obstinate Jew.

That metropolis was the birthplace and home of other Jewish martyrs who were ruthlessly tortured by the Inquisition.

* Cf. Kayserling's works already cited; D. Cassel, *Lehrbuch der jüd. Gesch. und Litteratur*, p. 471, and Graetz, vol. X, p. 103, n. 2 Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. III, p. 370, no. DCCCXXXV, e, s. s. יונה אברבנאל; Dr. E. Carmoly's biography of Don Isaac Abarbanel in *Oscar Nechmad, Briefe und Abhandlungen jüdische Literatur betreffend*, etc., II Jahrg., Wien, 1857, pp. 61, 65, no. 67, and especially *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 311, and n. 3.

† Cf. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 310.

‡ See his article in Frankel's *Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. IX, Leipzig, 1860, pp. 334-5.

tion. Foremost among them, by reason of his literary distinction, is Antonio José da Silva, the illustrious Portuguese poet and dramatist, whose fate was indeed cruel, for he, his mother and his wife were publicly burned at Lisbon on the 19th of October, 1739. Many essays and biographies were devoted to this eminent martyr,* so that we are in possession of almost all the facts relating to his eventful career.†

Antonio José, the greatest genius among the poets and dramatists of Portugal, whose plays evoked the admiration of two continents and are to this day popular in the land of his birth, belonged to a Marrano family, who, owing to bitter persecution in Spain, were forced to embrace the Christian faith, though remaining loyal at heart to the Mosaic creed, and were transported to Brazil together with the New Christians, as we have seen above, at the time of the reconquest of Brazil from the Dutch—a period of desolation for the Jews, who, under the tolerant government of Holland,

* In Appendix XII a full list is given of the works written concerning Antonio. See also Appendix VIII, IX, X and XI.

† Besides the bibliography in Appendix XII to this study, cf. the anonymous *História da Inquisição em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1845, p. 285 : Sahio á morrer o Bacharel Antonio José da Silva, auctor dos 4 tomos das operas portuguezas de que ha duas edicoes; e sua mulher de 27 annos de idade foy penitenciada. He gives the correct date of Antonio's execution as October 19 (18th), 1739, not 13th, as Kayserling in *Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 338, note 5, has it; and not 1745, as an anonymous reviewer ("π") of *Sephardim*, in the same periodical, vol. VIII (1859), p. 44, records. Dr. Isaac de Costa, of Amsterdam, in his interesting book, *Israel and the Gentiles* (Dutch ed., Amsterdam, 1848; English ed., London, 1850; German ed., by K. Mann, Frankfurt a. M., 1855, p. 220, note), confuses our hero with Antonio Alvarez Soares, who flourished at the beginning of the seventeenth century, hence one hundred years before de Silva. See on him Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, vol. III, p. 129, No. CCCXXXIV^c, and the authorities cited in *Sephardim*, pp. 175, 340, n. 188. On Antonio José see also Emanuel Hecht's *Handbuch der israelitischen Geschichte*, ed. by Dr. M. Kayserling, Leipzig, 1879, p. 88; Dr. Alexander Kohut's Hungarian Jewish History: *A Zsidók Története*, Nagyvárad, 1881, p. 205.

enjoyed the peace and prosperity denied them elsewhere. It was a sad day for Israel when the forces of Portugal were victorious and the thriving band of earnest and devout worshipers were again placed under the ban of expulsion. Then it was that Isaac Aboab de Fonseca and Moses Raphael de Aguilar, the two principal Rabbis of the Brazilian community, were compelled to return to Amsterdam, in order to escape the vengeance of their conquerors, who were well aware that the Jews took an active part in the conflict against them, with a loyalty for which they were also distinguished in Surinam and Jamaica.*

Antonio's family settled in Rio de Janeiro, where they were leading a quiet, unostentatious life, fearing lest their secret adherence to the Jewish faith might be betrayed despite their outward devotion to Catholic Portugal. His father, João Mendes da Silva, was a celebrated jurist, highly esteemed, learned in his profession and endowed with remarkable poetic gifts. He is said to have composed many sonnets and larger pieces on Christological themes, in order to avert suspicion from himself, and even sacred hymns and fables highly praised by some critics, as De Macedo observes,† although almost all biographers of Antonio state that his productions were unpublished and are consequently lost.‡ We know that he was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1656, and that being graduated with honors in the University of Coimbra, he returned to his native city, where he remained until his wife was snatched away by agents of the Holy Office and sent to Lisbon for trial. He followed, fearing the worst, and took up his practice in that city of mediæval horrors, hoping to rescue her from the clutches of the Inquisition, but in vain.

* See on this point the writer's paper on "Early Jewish Literature in America," in *Pub. American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 3, pp. 134-5, notes 1 and 2, and the sources there cited; also his article in Wolf's *American Jew as Soldier*, etc., where fuller details are given.

† *Brazilian Biographical Annual* (Rio de Janeiro, 1876), pp. 441-42, and Appendix IX to this paper.

‡ See Kayserling in *Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 333.

It is a relief to know that he did not witness the wholesale murder of his dear ones, he having died in 1736, although they were already then languishing in prison. We will follow his fortunes in delineating the story of Antonio's career. João's wife, Lourença Coutinho,* bore him three sons, the youngest of whom, the poet, was born in Rio de Janeiro on May 8, 1705. It will be remembered that during that period the influence of the Inquisition was mighty in Brazil and the unfortunate Marranos there settled were in mortal dread of their lives, for any one possessing wealth was soon accused as a *suspicio* and persecuted accordingly, despite avowals of loyalty and proofs of previous concessions. Antonio was baptized in the cradle—a ceremony necessary for the safety of both child and parents; but that fact did not prevent his mother from educating him most rigidly in the Mosaic faith, which she *in petto* esteemed and loved, and subsequently glorified by her heroic end. Antonio's father was fortunate enough to elude the vigilance of the Jew-baiters and heresy-hunters, whose spies were alert in Mexico, Lima, Carthagená, Chili, Brazil and the Indies, and even succeeded, by the deliberate choice of dogmatic themes for his poems, such as the *Messiad*e and a *Hymn inscribed to Saint Barbara* (see also Appendix IX), in acquiring a great reputation for piety and patriotism. His wife, however, who was not sufficiently cautious in disguising her real sentiments, fared worse. For a long time suspected of heresy, palpable proofs were at last collected against her at an examination held on October 10, 1712, and finally in the

*This is a common Portuguese name, borne by many eminent Jewish families. A certain Manuel Rodriguez Coutinho was punished at Lisbon about 1713 for the third time as an adherent of the Mosaic faith. Cf. Ross, *Dissert. Philos., qua Inquisit. Pontif. iniquitas evincitur*, Marburg, 1737, p. 16, cited by Kayserling, *Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 333, n. 4; and the latter's *Ein Feiertag in Madrid*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 38. Fernando Coutinho, Bishop of Silva, was president of the Supreme Tribunal (*Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 130 seq.)

year 1713 she was dragged to Lisbon at the instance of the Inquisition and committed to prison, as was many years before the noble martyr Isaac de Castro Tartas. It was in those days not unusual to summon peaceful, law-abiding Jews from American countries to Spain or Portugal to await the judgment of the tribunal, frequently for no other offence save that they were wealthy and prosperous and controlled the financial market. Loth to leave his devoted wife, the tender husband contrived to dispose of his personal effects at a great monetary sacrifice, and with dread forebodings in his heart, followed his unhappy spouse to Lisbon, taking with him his three sons, among them Antonio, then about 8 years of age.* Lourença Coutinho remained in prison until the 9th of July, 1713, when she was released, probably at the earnest solicitation of her husband, who, to achieve his purpose, took up his abode in that city and pursued his calling, and after doing public penance she became reconciled with the Church (*reconciliada*). No wonder then that Antonio, whose tenderest years were marred by the shadows of suffering and fanaticism, early developed a talent for the satirical, which in his hand became a powerful weapon against the Inquisition.

Antonio attended the colleges of Lisbon, where he made an excellent record for himself. After he passed the high-school, his father sent him to the University of Coimbra to study canon law. In a short time he became honor-student of his class, and was graduated at the age of 21 with the degree of bachelor of divinity. During a vacation in 1726 he repaired to Lisbon to visit his mother, and she was in consequence accused of *Judaizing* the second time, for she had been under careful watch since her first escapade. It is true that she was a faithful observer of the Jewish ceremonial laws, in the exercise of which she was detected, so that it did not

*The *Brazilian Biographical Annual*, l. c., p. 31-2; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 320, say that Antonio José was 8 years old when his father left Brazil. In *Monatschrift*, vol. IX, p. 334, and *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, p. 330, he is made 2 years younger.

take long for the lynx eye of suspicion to rest on other members of the family. The father was much too politic to betray his secret attachment to the ancestral faith, and upon him the vengeance of the Holy Office did not fall. His two elder sons were also exempt from persecution. Antonio himself was arraigned before the tribunal on the 8th of August, 1726, whose ire he seems to have excited by some satirical poems. He also was taken to task for following the Mosaic commands. On the 16th of August, 1726, the investigation of his case was begun, and as he was yet a minor according to Portuguese law, not having attained the age of 25, a certain Philipp Nery, who was probably a subaltern of the Holy Office, was appointed his guardian. The Inquisitor João Alvarez Soarez asked him to state what his personal effects were, upon which Antonio replied, somewhat sarcastically, that "as a child of his parents, he possessed only linen and the necessary clothing." The penitent confession of his fault did not save him from the torture-rack, and he was so exhausted and crushed after the application of the gibbet (*tratos de polé*) that for quite a while he was not able to sign his name. It was noted with care in the judgment that during the ordeal to which he was subjected he designedly "called upon the only one God, but did not once pronounce the name of the Holy One" (Jesus). After suffering the most excruciating pain he was finally released, having been compelled, however, to openly acknowledge his guilt at an *auto de fe* held in Lisbon on October 13, 1726,* where he solemnly promised to become henceforth a good Catholic and to give up his old associates, whose companionship was

* Grünwald, in his character sketch of Antonio, in Frankel-Graetz's *Monatsschrift*, vol. XXIX, Krotoschin, 1880, p. 242, gives the date October 23, 1726, which we are inclined to dispute, as he does not quote authorities, whilst Dr. Kayserling consulted the best historical sources. In several important details, however, Grünwald is much fuller, and especially valuable in the analysis of De Silva's literary works, of which we give an outline in Appendix XIII to this essay.

fraught with such danger. Any violation of this resolve would entail condign and severe punishment. His mother Lourença did not come off so cheaply, for she was imprisoned three years longer than her son—until October 17, 1729.

Knowing full well the fate that awaited him should he again expose himself to suspicion, Antonio systematically avoided excessive intercourse with Jews and New Christians, and deliberately sought the esteem and friendship of several monks well known for their zeal and piety. It must be added here that immediately after his release Antonio returned to the university at Coimbra, intending to finish his course of studies. Having once obtained the necessary degree and entered his name among the practicing lawyers, he devised plans by which means he could best avoid persecution in the future, and assumed the air of a devout Christian, thinking to hoodwink the spies that were on his track. Nevertheless he neglected not to worship, in the utmost secrecy and retirement, the God of his fathers, with a fervor which is only increased and sanctified by adversity. Already then he conceived a decided predilection for the theatre, and devoted his leisure to the composition of poems and comedies, destined to exert great influence in the education of the masses.*

In 1734 he married Leonore de Carvalho, of Covilhão in Guarda, a secret Jewess, who, strange to say, was condemned by the Inquisition in Valladolid (in her eighteenth year) *in absente* almost simultaneously with her future husband. She, together with several members of her family, had fled to France.† A daughter was born to them in the year following,

* Cf. Barbosa, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. IV, p. 41 (also vol. I, p. 303); Wolf's biography, p. 8; Kayserling, *Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, p. 335; Grünwald, vol. XXIX, p. 243; and Appendix XIII, where a chronological table of his compositions is given.

† It is remarkable that no reference is made to Leonore by the numerous biographers of Antonio. Kayserling, *l. c.*, pp. 334-5; *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, pp. 330-1, seems to be the only one to mention her. The family is well known in Spain, Portugal, and even

whom he named Lourença, after his suffering and aged mother, just liberated from prison. For a time it seemed as if he would end his days in peace, for prosperity attended him. His office, which since his father's death (on January 9, 1736) he mastered alone, yielded a handsome yearly income; he had almost dared to hope for a life of comfort and plenty. He had a lovely and amiable wife,* and a charming little daughter whom he adored. The mother, whom he loved all the more tenderly since her late trials, was free again, and they could in the secrecy of their household give praise to the God of Israel.

in America, where we meet with the name in Brazil, Jamaica, Barbadoes and Mexico repeatedly. It survives to-day in many Jewish names. Manuel de Carvalho, of Covilhão in Guarda, 48 years old, undoubtedly some near relative of Leonore, was sentenced at an *auto de fe* held in Lisbon on May 10, 1682, to lifelong penal servitude. See M. Geddes, *View of the Court of Inquisition of Portugal*, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, London, 1702, p. 432. Another Manuel de Carvalho, perhaps the father of Leonore, was burnt, together with Isabella Mendes, in 1719, on suspicion of breaking a holy wafer to pieces. Cf. Rosa, *Dissert. Philos., qua Inquisit. Pontif. iniquitas evincitur*, Marburg, 1737, p. 20. Whether his relatives fled on this account or not, it is known that during their sojourn in France the Tribunal in Valladolid punished with confiscation of property and banished on the 26th of January, 1727, the following persons *in absente*: Miguel Muñes [Núñez] Carvalho of Covilhão, merchant, aged 40 years, formerly royal administrator; his sisters Anna, 1. years old, and Leonore, 15 years old, his wife and other relations, altogether 16 in number, hailing from Covilhão and Píyel. On this same occasion the student Joseph Pereyra Cavalho was sentenced *por culpa de Judaismo* to three years' seclusion in a cloister. Cf. Kayserling, *Monatschrift*, vol. IX, p. 335, n. 7, and *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* p. 331, note 1.

* De Lara's statement, repeated by Dr. Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 320, that Antonio in his 30th year became a widower and then began to write for the stage, is incorrect, for it is known that his wife, his mother and himself were sacrificed at the same time. The same author reports, without naming the source, that in his 37th year he underwent the Abrahamic rite, out of devotion to his ancestral faith. This also is unauthentic, for Antonio was executed in 1730 at the age of 24.

But every prosperous man has enemies and every genius foes. Envy and hatred, these twin passions of vice, seized some fanatics, who pretended to read in the comedies of this gifted Portuguese Plautus polemics against the Holy Office. The people laughed at his plays, which they sneeringly called the operas of the Jew; they applauded the sentiment, but reviled its author. The Holy Tribunal became apprised of the insult offered to its cause and only bided its time. It did not escape them that Antonio, despite his outward attachment to Catholicism, remained true to his faith. He appended to each of his operas a sort of confession of faith, assuring us that he does not believe in the deities mentioned in his works—a fact which served as a basis for the accusations of the future. It was not long before the lowering clouds of suspicion, which had gradually gathered over Antonio's home, suddenly burst, and denunciations poured in thick and fast. At last on the 5th of October, 1737, when Antonio, whose palace was his home, was celebrating, in happy unconcern of danger, the second birthday of his infant daughter, he was disturbed by loud and imperative knocks at the door. In strode the familiar figures of the Inquisitorial bailiffs and ruthlessly separated the joyous domestic circle. Both he and his wife were cast into prison and the house of the unfortunate poet was sacked. They only found 75 reis in silver, which of course was duly appropriated for sacred purposes. The informer was a negro slave named Leonore Gomes, of the Cape of Good Hope, in his mother's service, upon whom she desired to wreak vengeance for a recent reprimand received at the hands of her mistress owing to the immoral life she was leading. Prompted by Antonio's enemies, who watched with jealous eyes his growing fame and popularity as jurist, poet and dramatist, the ungrateful negress bore witness to his Jewish loyalty.* She also was

* Grünwald, *Monatsschrift*, vol. XXIX, pp. 249-50, specifies the charges laid at his door by the African slave. She claimed to have seen her mistress's household usually change their linen on Fridays (*sexta feira*), and to feign illness on the Sabbath (Saturday), in order

incarcerated, but a few days after was suddenly seized with terror and remorse and gave up her miserable soul. Just when he was in the zenith of his power and felt himself the most secure from trouble, he was deprived within the briefest possible time of his liberty and effects. On the 3d of October, 1737, the apostolic Inquisitors issued a "warrant against the attorney Antonio José da Silva, residing at Lisbon, near the Church of Succour, for heretical degeneration and apostasy" (*Os inquisidores apostolicos contra a heretica pravidade e apostasia*), ordering him "to be taken into custody wherever he might be found; his property to be confiscated because of the crime charged against him by the *Sanctum Officium*; and his person to be secured in some safe prison." His bed and the barest daily necessities, with an allowance of 40 milreis (= \$1.50 in our money), were accorded to him. The imperial tax-gatherer served this sentence on the luckless poet. It was customary and even a matter of no little pride for persons of high dignity and social standing to volunteer their services in behalf of the Holy Inquisition, who bore the title of *Familiares*. The fear of these officials must have indeed been dreadful, if the bare words, "in the name of the most holy Inquisition," sufficed to cast any one into prison. None dared to dispute its authority. Accordingly Antonio and his wife were imprisoned on October 5, 1737. His mother, Lourença Coutinho, who for a year past was widowed, was also apprehended, for the third time, on October 12th of the same year. Cell No. 6 of the Corrido called *meis-novo* was reserved for the poet. The doors of *Citta dolente* opened for the martyr; he again entered the dreary solitude of the *eterno dolore*, where every hope dies. The Inquisitors knew full well the groundlessness of the charges brought against him by the negress, but they pretended to consider them of the gravest character, and had it not been for the unexpected to avoid attending mass in church. Furthermore, in Passion Week, the duties incumbent upon every devout Christian were neglected by them.

death of the informer, who was the only witness, they would at once have pronounced the fatal verdict. As it was, however, Antonio being an individual whose genius was enlisted in the public cause, the judges, with great show of clemency and systematic mercy, postponed the decision until more proofs should be forthcoming. Antonio, accused of Judaizing, was quite unmoved by all this—he actually hoped to be set free again in the near future. Did he not have the friendship of pious friars—of Pater Antonio Coutinho, Pater Luis de san Vincete Fereira and José da Camara—all Dominicans, who would testify to his religiousness?

The cell wherein the unfortunate Antonio was locked was perforated with little holes, not visible to the inmate thereof, but through which all his movements could be watched. In order to spy out all his doings, the sly judges committed to the same jail a pseudo-criminal, one José Luiz de Azevedo, who was undoubtedly a hireling, for no record of his offense and arraignment is to be found in the *Torre do Tombo*. In order to divert his monotony, however, Azevedo was discharged in September, 1728, and a soldier named Bento Pereira, who appears to have been no counterfeit, was put in his place. So satisfied were the Inquisitors with his espionage that on the day of Antonio's execution the soldier was set at liberty.

From the proceedings of the trial, the documents of which are preserved in the royal archives of *Torre do Tombo*, and were first extracted by Adolpho de Varnhagen,* we learn the following facts. His beloved wife, who had been cruelly torn away from him, gave birth to a boy in prison, and the thought of her solitary anguish and forlorn hope made his soul shudder and his heart grow sick. No wonder then that he rejected the uninviting food placed before him, little caring to nourish a body whose spirit was crushed and famished. And this

* *Florilegio da poesia brasileira*, Lisboa, 1850, 207 seq.; Wolf's biography, p. 10. Dr. M. Grünwald, whom we follow, gives full particulars (pp. 251-7). See also the authorities cited in Appendix XII to this paper, especially the article of De Lara, who popularized his history.

very self-abnegation was the cause of his doom. The refusal to eat was at once interpreted as a contempt for the Christian religion and a desire to observe the Mosaic dietary laws. One of the witnesses, described as No. 4 in the records of the trial, Antonio Gomes Estéres, gives the following details of Antonio's behavior while in the cell. When the eye-witness looked through the watch-hole he observed the prisoner lying on his bed, where he remained till 2 o'clock; then from 2 to 3 he paced up and down the floor of his dungeon, fixing his eyes constantly upon the sun and burying his hands in his nightgown. After that he again took to his bed until 4 o'clock, at which time he arose and sat down on a bench until the watchman, Antonio Francisco Rodrigues, brought a basket. Seeing him, he got up and received several oranges and eggs. In reciting the *Ave Maria* he knelt down devoutly and crossed himself. That done, he again paced up and down until light was brought to him, and as it was then half-past seven o'clock, he ate some bread, butter and cheese. After his meal he thanked God, crossed himself and arranged his couch. More than this the witness could not report, for he left his post, together with his colleague, at about 8 o'clock.

The witness Maximiliano Gomes da Silva declared, however, that he saw the prisoner receiving nourishment, but that he observed him throwing all the meat into "the unclean vessel" which stood by his bed.

Witness No. 20, Antonio Gomes Prego, stated that Antonio was pale, but in good spirits nevertheless, and that he could have eaten had he been so disposed.

Witness No. 22, João Gomes Da Costa, reports to the same effect, and No. 6, Antonio Baptista, endorses these statements. No. 8 does not mention the grace after meal which he was said to have uttered.

The *familiar*, Antonio Esteves Ribero, as the tenth witness, brought forward the weightiest evidence. According to his deposition, Antonio had the prayer-book in his hand without perusing it, and grace was said long after the proper time.

Witness No. 19, Felipe Rodrigues, said that the prisoner had dragged himself about, kneeling on the ground, which he kissed three times.

Let us conclude these declarations with the evidence furnished by the soldier, Bento Pereira, who was a fellow-captive of Antonio's from September, 1738, to February, 1739. This rascal maintained upon oath that Antonio fasted in accordance with the Jewish law, that he tried to seduce him, and that he did not pray at all. When he chanted the *Ave Maria*, the prisoner did not respond either by voice or gesture, but coughed at the holy portraits hanging on the wall and refused to touch any meat.

These are the only offences with which the worthy judges of faith (*los juizes de fé*) could charge their victim, despite all the espionage of the various witnesses. The evidence thus collected sufficed to sentence him to death. Being asked by the Inquisitor, Theotónio da Fonseca Santo Maior, concerning his property, he replied that at the time of his capture he possessed nothing, his library being his costly furniture, and part of it belonging to his brother, Balthazar Rodrigo.

His personal anguish was heightened by the knowledge that his mother and wife were subjected to the torture. His wife Leonore was arraigned before the Tribunal four months after her imprisonment. From October 5, 1737, to February 28, 1738, she languished in the gloomy dungeon without even being apprised of the cause. Being summoned on the 15th of March anew, she disavowed all knowledge of guilt, in consequence of which she was pronounced heretical, faithless and unbelieving, and on the 10th of October, 1739, scarcely two weeks after the execution of her aged mother-in-law (Sept. 28th), she died at the age of 27.*

* According to Kayserling, *Monatschrift*, vol. IX, p. 338; *Gesch. d. Juden in Portugal*, p. 333, Antonio's mother and sister survived him some time. His mother lived 3 months after his execution. De Macedo makes them all die at the same *auto de fe*, on the 19th of October, 1739.

Antonio also, when put on trial before the Holy Office, stoutly denied the charges brought against him, and proved that since his conversion he had been a constant Catholic, shunning the association of Marranos, as persons of esteem could testify. As the judges themselves saw the contradictory reports in the testimony of the witnesses, they attempted to inveigle him by tricky questions and flattering overtures. But he was no more the careless, inexperienced young student who 13 years before betrayed his parents and friends. Bitter experience and much suffering made him a keen observer. He remained non-committal. All schemes availed nought. At last, forced to the wall, the Inquisitors gave it out that he was seen in company with adherents of the laws of Moses on a certain day and at a certain time. Neither time, place nor persons, however, were specified in fuller detail.

After Antonio heard these accusations, he begged for counsel, which request, as in the trial of 1726, was granted by the hypocritical judges. The Inquisitor selected two licensed practitioners, José Rodriguez Leal and Dr. José da Motta Faria, who, out of consideration for the *Sanctum Officium* and out of charity for the prisoner, pleaded Antonio's cause.

His innocence was as clear as sunlight, and it did not take the lawyers long to establish the fact that our poet, after his apostasy to Judaism, adopted the Christian faith, to whose tenets he remained loyal and whose ceremonials, unless official duties interfered, he carried out most minutely. When these mock formalities were gone through with, the members of the Holy Office called a secret meeting for March 11, 1739, and "after they deliberated on the pros and cons of the case" (as if their verdict had not been premeditated) they unanimously resolved that Antonio José da Silva, heretical and prone to apostasy, be properly punished with the confiscation of his property and with the great ban. For seven months this verdict remained unknown. It was carried into execution despite the painstaking interest of his friends, particu-

larly of D. Mathias Ayres Ramos da Silva Eça, president of the imperial mint, and Don Francisco Xavier de Menezes, Count of Ericeiro, himself a talented poet, both of whom were devotedly attached to him and remained loyal unto death,* hoping against hope for many weary months that his innocence would yet be known and his person set at liberty. It was even rumored that King João V, who appreciated the genius of his poetry, made many efforts to save him. But the Inquisition recognized no authority. No king, no friend, no power of any kind could liberate a wretched victim about whose neck the brawny arm of fanatic hatred was once tightening.

At an *auto de fe* held in the Church of St. Dominique, on the 18th of October, 1739,† Antonio heard his sentence *de relaxação*. True to the motto of the Inquisition, every word of which was cant, not to be too severe in judgment and to delay as long as possible the capital punishment without spilling blood (*sem procederem a pena de morte, nem effusão de sangue*), Antonio was convicted to be publicly burnt as an impenitent Judaizer. He went into the chapel and a confessor was sent to torture his last hours. In triumph and glory let it be said that this noble martyr, who had often foreshadowed his destiny in his inspired verses,‡ offered up his last prayer to the one only God, to the God of Israel, who was always his God.

After all, the Inquisitors were right—he was an obstinate, heretical miscreant, a Jew. His old mother and his wife are said to have been spectators at the *auto de fe*. In an authentic document still extant, we read, under the heading, *Pessoas relaxadas em carne*, the following: “No. 7, 34 years old. Antonio José da Silva (*christianus novus*), attorney, born at Rio de Janeiro, lives in Western Lisbon, pronounced free

* See Appendix VII to this paper; J. M. Pereira de Silva's *Os varões illustres do Brasil*, Paris, 1858, vol. I, pp. 262, 266.

† Kayserling has the 16th of October, 1739.

‡ Cf. Wolf's *Antonio José da Silva* (see Appendix XII), p. 10 seq.

from the crime of judaizing at the *auto de fe* celebrated in the Church of St. Dominique, October 13, 1726. Newly accused, lying and relapsing into the old sins."

On the 19th of October, 1739, escorted by a confessor and the whole brotherhood of mercy (*Irmandad da Misericorda*), the immense assemblage there gathered beheld advancing a dark-haired man of middle stature, pale and emaciated from long confinement in the dingy, unwholesome dungeon; clad in a yellow *sambenito* (or *san-benito*) which was adorned with red flames and fantastic devils, holding a green wax-candle in his hand. It was Antonio José da Silva, the famous poet and dramatist, one of whose popular *operettas* by a strange irony of fate was played at the great theatre of Lisbon on the very evening of the day when he expired on the funeral-pyre.* He was calm and heroic, a typical martyr. To make his last moments still more horrible, the humane Holy Office, to whom everything was holy, invited his aged mother and youthful wife to watch his dying anguish. His crime being only that of Judaizing, one sign of grace was shown him, he was first strangled and then burned. Had he been "a genuine Jew" he would have been sacrificed alive. How merciful was that sublime brotherhood! De Lara, and following him, Kayserling, give some romantic episodes of the final scene which we shall not reproduce, as they can be consulted elsewhere. Suffice it here to repeat a portion of the last withering denouncement from the lips of the hero-poet: "I am a follower of a faith God-given according to your own teachings. God once loved this religion. I believe He still loves it; but because you maintain that He no longer turns upon it the light of His countenance, you condemn to death those convinced that God has not withdrawn His grace from what He once favored. You demand that we become Chris-

* This coincidence has just been pointed out by Dr. Gustav Karpeles, in his new series of studies, issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1895, entitled, *Jewish Literature and other Essays*, pp. 236-7 (cf. also *ibid.*, p. 100).

tians, yet you are far from being Christians yourselves. Be at least men, and act towards us as reasonably as if you had no religion at all to guide you and no revelation for your enlightenment." Some say that Antonio's last cry was the ancient, glorious *Shema Yisrael*.^{*} Hate pursued him even after death. When a collected edition of his operas was spoken of, the Inquisition forbade it. Only five years later, in 1744, did his works appear anonymously, under the title, *Theatro comico portuguez*, edition in 2 vols. by Francisco Luiz Ameno (see Appendix XIII), who, whatever his motives were, deserves full credit for preserving in more permanent form the genial productions of the greatest Portuguese dramatist—the regenerator of the comic opera.

It is a sad consolation for us to know that Antonio was the last Jewish martyr to die at the stake in Portugal. There were several *autos de fe* held, but the torture and funeral-pyre were abolished after the accession to the throne of Don José.[†] In 1766 the last *auto de fe* was held in Lisbon without victims, and the laws of King Manuel (March 1st, 1507) and João III (December 16th, 1524) affecting New Christians and Marranos, were renewed on the 2d May, 1768. These sects were henceforth to be punished with deportation and the confiscation of property.

And now let us turn back to the Inquisition on native

^{*} See Krauskopf's *Jews and Moors in Spain*, Kansas City, 1887, pp. 183-4, where the death-scene is graphically described. Antonio was, however, a young man of 34 years, and not a venerable sage, as the author thinks. Kayserling, *Sephardim*, pp. 321-3, gives the picture as seen by an eye-witness. He followed there De Lara (see Appendix XII, s. v.), whose information, owing to the omission of sources, is not at all reliable. Kayserling himself calls it the "artistic elaboration of the truth" (*Monatsschrift*, vol. IX, pp. 331-2). Krauskopf, Kayserling, Karpeles (*Geschichte der jüdischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1866, vol. II, p. 960; *Jewish Literature and other Essays*, pp. 236-7), and De Lara give extracts of this stirring and eloquent speech.

[†] Cf. Kayserling's *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, pp. 333-4.

American soil—in Peru. One more *judaizing* victim, a contemporary of Antonio José da Silva, claims our attention. We refer to Francisco Moyén, the martyr of Lima, who, after nearly twelve years' imprisonment, was exiled from that country, shipped to Spain, and finally perished off Cape Horn.

His story has been exhaustively treated by B. Vicuña Mackenna in his treatise, *Francisco Moyén; or the Inquisition as it was in South America* (London, 1869; 8vo, 230 pp.), written originally in Spanish and translated into English by Dr. James W. Duffy, in answer to the high-strung panegyric of the Holy Office published by the Chilian Prebendary, Señor Saavedra.* It is a highly interesting and valuable compilation, for Mackenna, a just man and an erudite, conscientious historian, investigated all documents extant, and incorporated only what is authentic in his biography. He was not satisfied with merely recording the life and trials of Moyén, but has devoted several pages to a brief survey of the beginning and development of the Sacred Tribunal in South America, particularly in Mexico and Peru. It was he who first brought to light from the dusty archives of Lima the account of "the noble, illustrious and courageous resistance which about the middle of the seventeenth century (1634–40) the ecclesiastical chapter of Santiago, composed entirely of members of the Chilian clergy, made to the encroachments of the Inquisition of Lima, represented by the Dean, Don Tomas de Santiago, acting as its Commissary-General in Chile."†

The writer of this work was residing in Lima in the year 1860, and in one of his visits to the public library of that

* *La Inquisicion: rapida ojeada sobre aquella antigua institucion, por el prebendado Don José Ramon Saavedra.* Santiago, 1867, 4to, 128 pp.

† In a discourse delivered on the 17th of August, 1862, before the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Chile, bearing the title, *What was formerly the State of the Inquisition in Chile*, published in 1862.

city he came by chance upon an immense quantity of law papers which had formerly belonged to the Inquisition, among which were those of the whole of the suit against Moyen. In the public library of Lima was furthermore found a large book of memoranda or records, which had belonged to the archives of the Inquisition of Lima. It is a folio volume, 30 centimetres in length, 21 in width, and 17 in thickness; it is bound in parchment, and has a table on the back on which is written *Penitenciado, No. 78—Don Francisco Moyen, de nacion frances, por proposiciones* (= condemned, No. 78, Don Fr. Moyen, a native of France, for propositions*). This valuable collection, together with others in the same library containing important records of numberless *autos de fe*, was bought for half an ounce of gold by the worthy librarian, Presbyter Don Francisco de Paula Vigil, from a poor woman, to whom it had been bequeathed after the famous sack of the record office of the Inquisition at Lima on the 3d of September, 1813. It contains not only the suit of Moyen, but also those of six others: that of Pedro Fos, likewise a Frenchman, and those of Manuel Galeano, Pascual Estacio Vargas, Juan Pablo Rodriguez de Soto, Fr. Matias Ponce de Leon and José de Medina. That of Moyen alone occupies from 800 to 900 leaves, which is two-thirds of the volume; the writing is very clear and legible; the identity of the signatures, and the impossibility of falsifying so much without motive, removes the least shadow of doubt about it.

The defence of Moyen was written by himself in a character extremely clear and distinct, occupying altogether 100 pages in folio, and although they seemed to be only notes for his advocate, they showed proofs of extraordinary erudition, and his language, though incorrect and even barbarous, was considerably better than the French-Portuguese jargon of his earlier writings. (Mackenna, p. 162, note.)

Francisco Moyen was born in Paris in the year 1720;

* Meaning heretical ideas.

most of the members of his family were artists. His father, Nicholas Moyén, and his grandfather of the same name had been musicians belonging to the royal chapel at the French court. His mother was a lady, a native of Burgundy, named Elena Adin. Francisco was a true Parisian—equipped with a liberal education, and by nature with genius, and became a trader. He had a chequered, romantic career, minutely described by his biographer, into the details of which we will not enter here. He was at home in the Orient, in Lisbon, England and America. He journeyed to Rio de Janeiro several times and to the Indies, and at last came to Peru. He was jovial, careless and frivolous; had remarkable talents for music, painting and literature, but was ill-tempered and talkative to excess. Therein lay the secret of his destiny. Mackenna says (pp. 60–61): “On the 18th of December he, with a party of traders, passed by Cordoba, and in the first days of February arrived at Jujui (Jujuy, in the Argentine Republic). The loquaciousness of Moyén, his violin and his animated and cheerful character made him the favorite of the company. As for his heresies against the Popes, the good folks of the road did not hear or else did not listen to them. Only the muleteers were accustomed to say whenever he passed before their mules, ‘There goes a Jew.’ The truth is that at that time in America there were only known three classes of men: the Chapetones, who were the inhabitants of the Peninsula, or natives of Spain; the Creoles, those born in America, and Jews; to the last category (Jews) belonged all foreigners, and especially the Portuguese, because it is well known that at the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the greater part of them took refuge at the more tolerant court of Lisbon . . . One day (the 10th or 11th of March, 1749) José Antonio Soto, a native of Galicia in Spain, born in the town of Redondela, was dining with the (other) companions of Moyén at the table of a merchant of Jujui called Juan Tomas Perez, when they commenced a conversation, very common at that time and since

among Spaniards, about the sixth commandment of the law of God, and between the laughing and drinking it happened that one of them made the remark that Moyén was a heretic because he did not attribute very great importance to that prohibition." At this irreverent remark the Galician withdrew to investigate the previous utterances of the French Jew during their journey. The muleteers assured him that Moyén was a consummate heretic, which was endorsed by Don Rodrigo Palacio, a member of the company. The curate of Cotagaita, Don Juan Antonio Leon, being advised beforehand, informed Soto that "he was in the company of a Jew" (p. 64), so that he began carefully to jot down every item of their intercourse and conversation, intending to make good use of it in the future. The agents of the Holy Office were soon notified of the possibility of procuring another victim, and his movements were watched and reported. "Denunciations poured in abundantly from all who had seen the heretic pass by their door, from all who had ever heard anything spoken about the Jew" (pp. 74-5). Finally on the 14th of May, 1749, the Commissary Lizarazu, Beaumont y Navarra of Potosi, where Moyén lived for two months, issued a warrant, which is printed in full by Mackenna (pp. 77, 78). He was imprisoned three years in that city. At length, on the 26th of March, 1752, he was delivered within the gates of the Holy Office at Lima. "About 3 years before," writes his biographer, "Moyén had arrived at Potosi, young, gay, brave, full of talent, and fervently glowing with all the passion of gallantry. He was then, according to the description of his own comrades, of well-proportioned stature, stout, round face, a beard full and black, white skin, Roman nose, thick lips, large, sharp and blue eyes, and with a mark of a cut across the jaw to the extremity of the mouth (from an old duel). Now the man behind whose tottering steps they had drawn the bolts of the Holy Office was but the shadow of that robust youth of nine and twenty years—emaciated, cadaverous, his hair tinged with grey . . .

Moyen had lived in three years a whole life of pain and misery. In the prime of his life he had already the signs of premature old age, produced by the combined torture of the flesh and spirit."

The first audience to which Moyen was admitted before the Inquisitors took place on the 4th of May, 1752. Ten sessions, lasting till June 21st, followed. In the first his genealogy was investigated. "Moyen had to give a most prolix history of his grandfathers, brothers and all his relations, to prove the purity of his race, because, according to the constitution of the Inquisition, one may be born a heretic. Judaism, for example, is a heresy constitutional and hereditary. But in this part the Parisian and Burgundy lineage of Moyen came out triumphant; for he proved, so says the respective act, to be of a good race and generation, without any mixture of heresy, Mohammedanism or Judaism."*

The second and third admonitions were made to him four months later, the 13th of October, 1752. The document of condemnation, of which only the conclusion is cited by Mackenna (pp. 112, 113), issued on the 11th of October, 1752, by Bartholomé Lopez Grillo, pronounced said Don Francisco Moyen to be a "heretic, formal, obstinate, and sequacious

*Almerico, in his *Directory for Inquisitors*, quoted by Mackenna, pp. 109, 110, says: "The accused is to be asked whether any of his family had been inclined to Judaism, or if any one had been condemned by the Holy Office, because those who have not the pure blood may more likely offend against the faith." Don J. Machena, in his compendium based upon the above *Directory* (published at Montpellier, 1821), says: "Infidels and Jews are subject to the Inquisition, the last when they sin against the articles of their faith, which are the same in both religions, as sacrificing to the devil, this being against the unity of God, an article admitted by Jews and Christians." He reckons as indications of Judaism the following observances: "To put on a clean shirt or clothes on Saturdays; to remove the fat from the meat which they are going to eat; to examine if the knife is notched with which they are going to kill a fowl or other animal; to repeat the Psalms without the *Gloria Patri*." (Cf. also Mackenna, p. 206.)

of the said sects of Luther, Calvin, Sacramen, Jansenius, Quesnel, Manichoeus, and Mahommed, and most vehemently suspected of Judaism, and approver of other errors and heresies." He was to be put to the torture.

Among the numerous evidences given by his biographer under various systematized paragraphs summing up the crimes he was charged with, we read :

"XXXIX.—*Fatality.*

"The accused, talking with the curate mentioned in the antecedent charge (headed *The Cross*) concerning predestination and of the great number who are lost eternally for not having had a knowledge of the Messiah, said, 'It is a very hard case that so many should be condemned for not having ever heard of the son of a carpenter.'

They said they were agreed that this scandalous proposition was offensive *piarum aurium*, impious, temerarious, erroneous, formally heretical, and approaching to Judaism, which constituted the accused a formal heretic, and suspected of Judaism."

We shall pass over the other audiences and trials concerning Moyén, his tortures and horrible sufferings from disease, so graphically told by his biographer. Suffice it to say in brief that in a deed of February 18, 1761 (pp. 166-9) we read the full account of his sentence. Among other things he had to present himself at a public *auto de fe*, in the form of a penitential, with a *sambenito* on which is half a cross, a cap on his head, a rope round his neck, a gag in his mouth, and a taper of green wax in his hand . . . "We condemn him to the confiscation and loss of half his goods . . . and we banish him perpetually from both the Americas and Islands adjacent . . . and from the city of Madrid . . . for the term of ten years, which time must be passed in one of the garrisons of Africa, Oran, Ceuta or Melilla," etc. etc.

A thorough search in the libraries of Mexico and Peru and judicious inquiries made among private collections would reveal an astonishing amount of new material relative to our topic. Thus Mackenna (p. 9) writes that "several individuals hold in their possession bundles of old papers, the judicial records of the Inquisition: one friend of mine has the process of Madam Castro. He was kind enough to show it to me, and even allowed me to copy it; he found it by chance in the great chest which the people could not carry away in the sack of 1821. These relics are so much the more valuable on account of their rarity, and therefore should be completed wherever it is possible."

As we have seen above, printed records of the American Inquisition in the Indies, Lima and in the wealthy Empire of Montezinos, are by no means so scarce as our historians would have us believe. It is true, as José Toribio Polo remarks in Mackenna's *Francisco Moya* (p. 9), that many precious documents were destroyed by fanatical officials of the *Sanctum Officium*, who "took the atrocious oath of secrecy never to reveal, either by words, acts or gestures, the least thing relating to the Holy Office." Of the very earliest phases of the activity of the Tribunal on this continent we still know very little. Everything in this connection has been communicated above. We can now accept as true the fact that from 1548, the year in which the first *auto de fe* took place, until 1570, three public *autos* were celebrated by the Archbishop Don Francisco Jeronimo de Loaisa, and it requires the patient labor of a chronicler to discover any traces of these acts. Not even Señor Palma succeeded in finding those records for his *Annals of the Inquisition* (*ib.*, p. 9).

To the rarities of historical literature belongs a curious quarto volume of more than 300 pages, printed in Lima in 1737—"a most wonderful production of pedantry and stupidity, of gross adulation and barbarous fanaticism"—whose title is: *Triumphs of the Peruvian Holy Office; a Panegyrical*,

Historical and Political Relation of the public auto de fe celebrated the 23rd of December, 1736, by Doctor Don Pedro José Bermudez de la Torre y Solur. This book, to which Mackenna often refers and extracts,* narrates the proceedings at the public *auto de fe*, "which was without doubt the most famous after that which a century earlier (1639) was celebrated by the Inquisitor Mañosca to burn the judaizing millionaire Manuel Bautista Perez and his wealthy companions." Its principal attraction was the burning of Madame Castro, about whom we have spoken, and the punishment of ten other women, "amongst whom were the Chilian Flea, and the Little Flea, her daughter, all of them for being witches."

The Jews appear to have been distinguished from other offenders on these occasions by the so-called *corozas*, or caps of derision, generally made of pasteboard. On them were printed figures of devils and reptiles; those of the judaizing had tails twisted around them, "and from this," says Mackenna (p. 212, n. 1), "very likely came the vulgar idea (and which we in our childhood believed as an article of faith) that the Jews had tails like monkeys."

Even Chile, the brave little kingdom which so successfully resisted the establishment of the Tribunal, did not remain entirely free from the insult of the *sambenito*, although she escaped the horrors of the burning pile.

It may truly be said that the Inquisition expired at the commencement of the age in which we live. Travellers like Stevenson, Mellet, and others have given vivid illustrations of the Inquisition in South American countries. They were even witnesses to many private *autos de fe* as late as the year 1812, in one of which was condemned the celebrated seaman Urdaneja for heretical propositions and for reading the works of French philosophers. He made his escape and died in Mexico. In Peru the Holy Office was abolished on

* Pp. 31, note; 75, n.; 95, n.; 191; 192, n.; Appendix II, pp. 207-217.

March 9, 1820. Mackenna furnishes us with the exact copies (in English) of the numerous documents relating to the Inquisition and its extermination, in the appendices to his work on *Francisco Moya*.

Our co-religionists have led a checkered life here in America as everywhere. Many and various were the trials through which Israel had to stride to the higher levels of culture and civilization. It is well to revive his history, if only to show unto the nations the thorn-bush of his heroism ever burning but never consumed—not even by the glaring fires of *autos de fe*.

APPENDIX I.

Ludovico à Paramo on Jewish victims of the first American auto de fe.

[From his work: *De Origine et Progressu Officii Sanctae Inquisitionis, ejusque dignitate et utilitate, de Romani pontificis Potestate et delegata Inquisitorum, etc.*, Matriti, MDXCIX, folio, pp. 241–42. Extracts of the subjoined text are also copied by Philip Limborch in his *Historia Inquisitionis, etc.*, Amsterdam, 1692, p. 104.]

“ . . . Intra breve temporis spatium ab incunabulis huius sanctae fidei Tribunalis ubi eres fruges, quae ab eo in omnibus Provinciis, ubi illud residet, colliguntur, editae sunt. Nam anno 1574, qui tertius erat post eius initia, actus primus fidei nova ac admirabili celebritate in foro Marchionis (ut vocant) ad latus Ecclesiae maioris habitus est, magno erecto theatro, qui universam prope fori aream occupans, Ecclesiae contiguum erat: ubi astiterunt Prorex ac Regius senatus, Capitulum, ac Religiosorum conventus, Proregis, senatus regii, aliorumq; pluriū concomitantium caterva stipati, ad forum usque progressi fuere, quippe solennibus supplicationibus, in quibus octoginta poenitentes circiter erant solennis hic fidei actus ab hora sexta de mane usq; ad quintam vesperi duravit. In quo duo haeretici, alter Anglus, Gallus alter, relaxati sunt, nonnulli *Judaizantes* reconciliati, fueruntque plures polygamia laborantes, sive his uxorati, illicitis ac maleficis artibus, & praestigiis studētes dediti. Sane Poly-

gamiae crimē in eis Provinciis, ob locorū distantia, ac frequē-
tiores, longinquasq; hominū peregrinationes (opinātibus illis
in tāta distantia haud detegi posse) plerumq; comittitur. In
hoc actu Dominus Antonius Morales de Molina sancti Jacobi
Spatiferi Religiosus, ac Episcopus Tlaxalensis (Mexico), con-
cionem habuit, ac tam celebris fuit hominū conventio,
actusque solennitas, ut qui viderat Pincianum famigeratis-
simum fidei actum, habitū 21. Maii, an. 1559, dixerint hunc
illi non maiestate, sed Regiarum personarū, qui in illo inter
venerunt, praesentia esse inferiorem. Ab illis temporibus
quotannis solennes fidei actiones celebrantur, in quibus fre-
quēter sunt *Lusitani Judaizātes*, incaestis ac nefariis nuptiis
polluti strigesque ac lamiae multae.

In hoc fidei actu quedam lamia ostensa est, quae
virum suū Goa timale ducentis leucis Mexico distātis degen-
tem, magicis incantationibus Mexicū, ubi ipsa erat, duorū
dierum spatio venire fecit. Ab hac dum sciscitaretur Inquis-
itor, quare id effecerat: ut viderem (respondit) ac fruerer
speciosissima viri mei fronte, ac ore, cum tamen hoc ille
spurcus ac foedissimus esset, ac supra modū abominabilis.
Illud autem fuit ab omnibus insigniter demirandum, quod
in una actione contigit, in qua relaxatus est quidam Garcia
Gonzalez Bermejero, qui quinquaginta annis *Mexici Judaicis*
superstitionibus nefariis misere volutabatur: qui tandem
cōvictus, fictus & impoenitens in miserrimum fatum concessit.
Alius Castellanus appellatus, duo de quinquaginta annis,
qui Mexici non detectus *judaizaverat*, misericordia ei con-
cessa fuit reconciliatus: & valde miror, qui fieri potuit, ut
tantū scelus rituū, et caeremoniarum *Judaicarum*, quae
natura sua rumorē ac strepitum prese ferrit, tam lōgo tempo-
rum curriculo, etiam in opulentissima civitate, summaque
hominum frequentia exulta occultū sub tenebris latuerit eo
vel maxime, quod agnum Paschalem comedebant & eius san-
guine domorum umbracula linirent: nec ob id detectum
scelus fuit donec quidam fidei noxius in Hispaniae Inqui-
sitionibus eiusdē criminis reus, praedictū Garciam Gōçalez

cōplicem, qui tunc Mexico degebat, casu hanc ceremoniarum congeriem patefecit.

Anno 1592, familia quedam Judeorum tabe polluta ad poenitentiam est exhibita: & Francisci Rodriguez Matos Lusitani, eius familiae capitis & scelerum autoris, iam demortui statua, igni iure tradita est, quia dogmatizator ac Rabinus Judaeorum sectae fuerat: eius uxor ac filiae quatuor inpoenitētiā publicam saccorum benedictorum reconciliatae sunt. Ille filium universorum scelerū heredē ac successorē habuit, cuius statua (quia aufugerat sequenti anno in quadam publica fidei actione in Ecclesia Mexicana habita), incensa est.

Illud vero praetereundum non est, illius profligatissimi hominis filiam natu minorem, septēdecem annis natam, illarum quatuor, quas supra commemoravimus, David Psalterium universum per insignem memoriam absque haesitatione recencuisse, orationē antē Hesther [?] ac alia nonnulla Judeorum cantica inverso ordine ab ultimo verso usque ad primum repetentem facilitate eadem recitasse: harum quatuor mulierum avunculus Ludovicus de Carvajal in publicam poenitentiam prodiit, quod illius familiae scelera non denunciasset, imo potuis cōtexisset. Is erat Gubernator ac Generalis Dux Provinciae Tampicii ac Panucii ac qui paulo ante Praesidis titulo salutabatur, suam ignominiosam sententiam publice exaudivit, ac perpetuo Regiis officiis privatus est, & in summā miseriam deductus, moerore ac vitae taedio brevi spatium viā universae carnis ingressus est," etc., etc.

APPENDIX II.

The Mexican Jew, Tomas Trebiño's Martyrdom in 1549 (?).

[See *Fragmento de dicha relacion reimpresso en el Diario de México de 6 Abril de 1807*; apud Don Antonio Puigblanch, *La Inquisición sin Máscara, ó Disertación en que se prueban hasta la evidencia los vicios de este Tribunal, etc.*, Mexico, 1824, pp. 104, 105.]

" . . . En la relacion del auto de México de 1549 se lee lo siguiente hablando de la ejecucion de algunos reos judaizantes.

‘Fueron relajados para el brasero en persona trece, con quienes se usó la piedad de darles garrote antes de ser quemados; menos en Tomas Trebiño de Sobremonte, por su insolente rebeldía y diabólica furia, con que aun habiéndole dado á sentir en las barbas, antes de ponerle en el cadahalso el fuego que le esperaba, prorumpió en execrables blasfemias, y atrahia con los pies á si los leños de la hoguera, en la cual tambien ardieron cuarenta y siete osamentas con suas estatuas, y de los fugitives diez.”

“En el auto de México de 1549 al llevar al suplicio al mencionado Tomas Trebiño” sucediò, sugun dice la la relacion, que montandole los ministros en una bestia de albarda tan ruin, tan floja y tan mansa, como todas las de este gènero, lo mismo fue sentir esta la carga que sacudirle con furia y partirse á reparos por entre el concurso. Se trajo otra y sucediò lo mismo. Hasta seis se remudaron echandose mano de aquellas, en que habian caminado algun trecho otros de los relajados sin repugnancia, y como aun los brutos se horrorizaban de aquel monstruo ninguno le admitio en su espalda. Caminó el infeliz á pie algun espacio; mas como lo sucedido era argumento bastante de que el caso era misterioso, deparò la divina providencia un caballo que le admitió sobre si para entregar mas pronto al fuego tan maldita carga.”

APPENDIX III.

Laguna on the Inquisition.

[Cf. Puigblanch, Spanish ed., p. 108, and n. 261; German ed., Weimar, 1817 (?), p. 153 seq.; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 297-303, and notes 494-5; his biography in S. R. Hirsch's *Jeschurun*, vol. III, Frankf. a. M., 1857, pp. 414-20.]

“Entre los escritos que abundan en semejantes aluciones es singular una traduccion castellana de los Salmos en varias especies de metro publicada en Lòndres á principios del siglo pasado. Su autor llamado Daniel Israel Lopez Laguna, el cual segun dice en el prologo habia estado preso por la Inquisi-

cion, la escribiò con el fin de auxiliar en la inteligencia de aquel libro à sus hermanos los judios españoles y portugueses, que de aquí pasaban à Inglaterra, é ignoraban el hebreo. Merecen con especialidad leerse las dos siguientes octavas sobre el salmo X segun el texto original y IX segun la vulgata; ellas solas demuestran la idea que tienen los judios del rigor de este tribunal. Dicen pues así.

Vers. 22. Ut quid, Domine, recessisti longe etc. 23. Dum superbit impius etc. 24. Quonian laudatur peccatur etc.:

“¿ Por qué, Señor, te encubres à lo lejos
A nuestro ruego en horas del quebranto?
Piadosas nos alumbren tus reflejos
Cuando soberbio el malo causa espanto
Al pobre persiguiendolo en consejos
Del *Tribunal*, que infieles llaman *Santo*.
Preso sea el malsin que tal se alaba,
Pues aunque él se bendice, en mal se acaba.”

Vers. 29. Sedet in insidiis etc. 30. Oculi ejus in pauperem respiciunt etc. 31. In laqueo suo humiliabit eum etc.:

“ Acechador violento en las aldeas
Cual oso ambriento enviste al inocente;
Sus ojos, sin temer que tu los veas,
Atalayan, cual leon de lo eminente
De su gruta, á las miserables plebeas
Gentes, que asalta audaz cuanto inclemente.
Pues liso geando hipocrita, abatidos
Coge en la red rebaños de afligidos.”

(*Kayserling, Sephardim*, quotes only one verse with variations.)

APPENDIX IV.

Description of a Mexican Auto de fe.

[From B. Vicuña Mackenna's *Francisco Moyn: or the Inquisition as it was in South America*, translated from the Spanish by James W. Duffy, M. D., London, 1869, pp. 102-104.]

“ . . . Of the opulent Mexico, which stands first in the category, it is well known that it displayed a greater degree

of luxury in its executions than that of the Holy Office of Lima. According to Juan Torquemada (*Indian Monarchy*, vol. III, p. 379), from 1574 to 1593, a term of only 19 years, were celebrated nine *autos de fe*, in the first of which were present 63 penitentials, of whom 5 were burnt alive. In the tenth *auto de fe*, celebrated in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, on the 8th of December, 1596, were present 60 penitentials. In another, celebrated 25th of March, 1602, the number exceeded 100.

Juan de Torquemada (we do not know if he was a descendant of the famous Thomas, although both were monks), who published his *Indian Monarchy* in 1723, appears to have been a great enthusiast in the burning of heretics, and the picture he has given of one of those festivities, of which he appears to have been an eye-witness, is so characteristic of his ferocious but ingenuous simplicity that we cannot do less than copy some parts of it as a specimen. He says :

“The place selected was the town-hall, being in the principal square of the city, where was ordered to be erected a sumptuous seat. Its base was on a level with the balustrade of the balcony, which formed a running cornice, with curious mouldings, in the clear of which they placed the seat, raised in form of a dais, with sufficient room for the chairs of the Viceroy, Inquisitors and the Town Council, above which was the canopy of the tribunal, which with its silk curtains and the beautiful worked and rich carpets, spread all over the spaces and flooring of the dais, made a most majestic appearance.

“It was quite a marvelous thing to see the people who crowded to this celebrated and famous *auto*; they were in the windows, and every place, which they filled, and even to the house and doors of the Holy Office; and to see the singular procession and accompaniment of the relaxed and penitentials who came out with ropes about their necks and pasteboard caps on their heads, with flames of fire painted on them, in their hands they held a green cross, and each had a

monk by his side who exhorted him to die well; they had also familiars of the Holy Office for a guard. The reconciled Jews with *sambenitos*, those twice married with caps, upon which were painted objects signifying their crimes. Those accused of witchcraft with white caps on their heads, candles in their hands, and ropes about their necks. Others for blasphemy, with gags in their mouths, half naked, their heads uncovered, and with candles in their hands, all in order, following one after the other; those for lesser crimes going first, and in the same order the rest, the *relaxed* following behind, and the dogmatists and teachers of the law of Moses as captains or leaders, the last with their trains on their caps, rolled up and twisted to signify the false doctrines they taught, and in this manner they proceeded towards the place erected for them, which was in front of the seats for the tribunal, at the foot of which were also seats in the form of steps, upon which were seated the familiars of the Holy Office, each according to his seniority.

“As for the scaffold, or framework for the seats of the condemned, it was marvellous, because in the middle of it was a half pyramid, surrounded by semicircular steps up to the top; upon these were seated in their order the relaxed, the dogmatists upon the highest steps, and the others in gradation, and in this order also were the effigies of those who were relaxed but who were either dead or absent. The reconciled and other penitentials were seated upon low benches in the open space of the scaffold. The head jailor of the Holy Office had a chair placed for him at the base of the scaffold, a pulpit was also placed upon the right of the Holy Office, from which a sermon was preached by the Archbishop of the Philippine Islands, Don Frai Ignacio de Santivañes, of the order of my glorious father San Francisco. Two other pulpits were placed, one on each side of the tribunal, from which were read by the reporters the sentences of the condemned, but which for the sake of not being too prolix, I will not give here; it will be enough to say that

there were many of those obstinate Jews, who each one might have been a Rabbi of a synagogue. All this was celebrated with great majesty, the immense majority of the people not being a little astonished at the rites and ceremonies, as well as at the enormous crimes, an account of which they had just heard read to them, of these judaizing heretics.”*

APPENDIX V.

Enterprise of the Marranos in the Indies.

[From *Documentos remittidos da Índia, publ. da Academia real das sciencias de Lisboa, p. R. Ant. de Bulhão Pato*, Lisbon, 1880, vol. I, p. 106 (cf. also vol. II, 215 sq.; III, pp. 495, 510 sq., etc.); *apud* Kaysersling, *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries*, Engl. ed. by Dr. C. Gross, New York, 1894, p. 131, note.]

“ . . . os Christãos-Novos de Portugal e Hispanha ajudavam a D. Manuel para armar alguns navios de guerra junto com os dos mercadores que por todos fizessen copia de trinta velas, e n’ellas ir D. Manuel para que mandavam dinheiro a Hamburgo e Alepo, e d’ahi se passava a Holanda e Gelanda, e que os Christãos-Novos d’esse Estado entravam tambem na dita liga, e que em Columbo havia dous que se carteavam com os Hollandeses, e em Malaca havia quatro ou cinco que os avisavam pelos moços que jam mos portos ende elles estavam por cuja via havia d’ahi muita correspondencia con ellas.”

APPENDIX VI.

A) *Menasseh ben Israel on Isaac De Castro Tartas.*

“Ishak de Castro tartas, conocido nuestro, y harto inteligente en las letras Griegas y Latinas, no se por que fortuna, passando daqui a Pernabuco, siendo alli captivo de los Por-

* A very similar description of a Mexican *auto de fe* is given in Dr. Cyrus Adler’s paper on the “Trial of Jorge de Almeida by the Inquisition in Mexico,” in this *Publication*, Appendix.

tuguezes, fue lo mismo que cercado de lobos carniceros. Embianle a Lixboa, donde tiranicamente preso, de edad de 24. años, es quemado vivo, no por alguna traicion que hiziesse, que a ley de soldado, estava obligado a defender su plassa, como hazen los nuestros en aquella provincia, donde por su fidelidad, les encargan los mas importantes puestos ; mas quien tal imaginara ? por que dixo, que no queria creer, mas que en un solo Dios, de Israel, que avia criado el cielo, y la tierra."

See *Esperança de Israel*, Spanish ed., Amsterdam, 5410 (1650), pp. 99-100. Both the Hebrew and Latin versions (Amsterdam, 1697, pp. 52^b-53^a; Amsterdam, 1650, p. 89), the latter of which is cited in full by Dr. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 309, note 1, are briefer than the above, for which reason the Spanish original is given here.

B) *Salomon de Oliveyra's Elegy.*

אל גויעת איש האלהים הנחמד ונעים יצחק די קאסטרו תארתאס* בחור
כארוים אשר חי בלעוהו להבות אש ליהט על יחוד קדושת השם ויצאה נשמתו
הקדושה בטהרה קדוש יאמר לו בחדש שבט התי"ח.

אנשי אמונה נברו בארץ
המה ראות ראו וכן תמהו
איש תם לבבו מעריך אל עריך
עלה בלבת אש כאליהו.

לפני אלוה יעמוד בפרץ
כי מחשבותיו גדלו גבהו
כל כוכבי אור קדרו, ויעל
על רום שרפים עומדים ממעל.

* Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, X², p. 102, note 1, has תארתאס ; Jellinek, in his article published in the Hebrew annual *Ozar Hasifrut*, edited by S. I. Gräber, Krakau, 1888, vol. II, p. 204, as also in Fürst's *Litteraturblatt d. Orient*, 1847, p. 263, has the wrong date, Sept. 13, 1647. He transcribes his name so: טארתש. On the title-page of several of Oliveyra's Hebrew books, printed by Isaac's brother, the name is spelt קאשטרו תארטס די

קמו אריות חרקו שן, ערב
רב פצרו פיהם, וחי בלעו
שה שרקו לו, והפכו לערב
יומו, וקדשו עמכו בלעו.

אמרו לכה תעבוד שתי וערב
חלקו לשון מרמה והם בלעו
לא דעו כסלם כאוכלי תבן
מעשה ידי אדם ועץ ואבן.

ענה בקול ערב ולב שמח
מה תענו אותי ומה תבולו
אקום ואתעורר אני נוצח
אתם להכל תכרעו תפולו.

אל חי נשא נס איש כך בוטח
ירדו שאולה צוררים יבולו
ואני בצדק אחזה פניך
אשבע בהקיץ את תמונתך.

אש אהבה תבער בתוך לבך
אש להבות שמן בהשמים
הראה לסין כל אנוש ריבך
רוחך בקרבך נשרפה פעמים.

מחוץ ומבית יקר נפשך
לא יוכלו כבות המוני מים
אהבה רשפיה כאש צרכת
רשפי פלדות יעלו שלהבת.

לך בשלשה שם והוד קנית
באת ערי עדיים הכי נכבדת
הם יצאו לאור אשר בזית
אתה אלי מקום אשר חמדת.

קמת להתרוכס ואף עלית
שמה עטרות ראשך עגדת
נפשך טהורה פה בעולת בעל
פשטה לבושה עד שרוך הנעל.

עוז אב המון גוים מלמדך
גם בן זקוניו עד הלום הגיע
עלה עשן כליל במזבחך
על מוקדה בו רוחך תרגיע.

שוב אל ולא עוד יעשן אפך
צדקת ישרים תזכרה תופיע
קומה די למנוחתך
אתה אלהים וארון עוזך.

Translation :

On the demise of the youthful, comely, and God-fearing man,
Isaac de Castro Tartas, stately as the cedar, whose life flames of fire
did devour [because of his zeal] for the unity and holiness of God.
His pure soul left [the body] in innocence. Well may he be called
a martyr! It was in the month of Shebat, in the year 5418 [read
5408].

Men of faith prevailed in the land
They saw indeed and were astounded that
A hero, perfect in heart, dreading the fearful God
Ascended in a flame of fire like Elijah.
Firm and unyielding he stood for his God ;
For his thoughts were great and lofty.
All the brightest stars were wrapped in mourning
As he ascended to the height of the Seraphim
That stood on the firmament.
Lions arose and grated their teeth,
The rabble gaped with their mouth,
They swallowed alive the lamb at whom they hissed
And changed to night his day.
They darkened and profaned his holiness (piety).
Go and worship the cross! said they [the inquisitors]
[As they] smoothed their deceitful tongue [ready] to swallow him.
(Not knowing, like dumb cattle, that their folly
Was the work of the hands of man—wood and stone.)
And he answered in a pleasant tone and joyful heart :
Wherefore do ye annoy and confuse me?
I shall arise and be strengthened, for I triumph
[Whilst] you crouch and fall to naught.
To thee [alone], O living God, man lifts up the standard.
Let my oppressors down into hell and rot
Whilst I shall behold Thy Face in righteousness
And upon reviving, rejoice in Thy Image.*
The fire of love that is kindled within thee,
The glowing flame that has inspired thee (liter.: brought thee into
heaven)
Made manifest to every eye thy cause.
Thy spirit has been twice burned :
Within and without thy soul did flame
Quantities (liter.: multitudes) of water could not extinguish it!

* Referring to immortality.

Love, her sparks are like the scorching fire,
 Thy heroism * has gained thee name and glory.
 Thou camest adorned with ornaments (virtues?), aye much
 esteemed.

They went forth to the light which thou didst despise,
 Thou wentest to the place whither thou didst desire,
 Thou didst arise to be exalted and hast indeed succeeded.
 Then thou didst enwreath thy head with crowns,
 Thy pure soul was here blended with the body
 Her (the soul's) garments stripped off entirely (i. e. in its original
 purity.)

The example of Abraham enthused thee,†
 Even (thou) his youngest son (his last follower)
 Has met his destiny thus (lit. reached hither)
 The smoke of the holocaust ascended on thine altar
 Upon its hearth thou gavest thy soul repose.
 Return, O God, and let no more thy anger rage (smoke),
 Remember, I pray, the righteousness of the upright
 And cause it to shine forth in splendor.
 Arise, O Lord, to thy rest,
 Thou and the ark of thy power.

The above is a free yet literal rendering of the poem which in some places is quite obscure, although the original text is punctuated throughout. After the 12th line a few lines were omitted by Dr. M. Kayserling, who published these verses in Kobak's *Jeschurun*, Jahrg. II, pp. 99-100. The original was printed in Salomon de Oliveyra's שרשט גבלת Amsterdam, 1765, p. 52^b. Four lines, with the introductory dedication, are given in *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 347, note 256^a. Isaac Cardoso, in *Excelencias*, p. 323 seq., reproduced this and other poems in his honor, among them a Spanish dirge of six lines by Jonas Abarbanel, of which

* The meaning is uncertain. It is sometimes used in the sense given in my rendering, see Fürst's Dictionary, s. v. שָׁרֵשֶׁת. Cf. II Samuel xxiii. 19, 23.

† Referring undoubtedly to the legend of Abraham being cast into a fiery furnace by Nimrod. Cf. *Sefer Hajashar*; Talmud Synhedrin 93a; other sources are given in Beer's *Leben Abrahams*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 112 ff.; S. B. Gould's *Legends of Patriarchs*, New York, 1872, pp. 158-60.

two are preserved in *Sephardim*, p. 206, note 1. The volume is very rare and difficult of access, hence I could only copy the elegy of the famous Amsterdam Rabbi. R. Saul Levi Morteira's (or Mortera) funeral oration appeared, according to Fuerst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1849, p. 149, s. v. under the title *הַסְפָּדָה* [*Sermão funeral?*], in Amsterdam, 1648, in octavo. He calls attention also to Cardoso's notes in his *Excellencias*, p. 324, and in note 3 gives some biographical details.

APPENDIX VII.

Marranos exiled to Brazil by the Inquisition in 1682 and 1707.

[Collected from *A View of the Court of Inquisition in Portugal*, etc., in *Miscellaneous Tracts*, edited by Dr. Michael Geddes, vol. I, 1st ed., London, 1702; 2d ed., London, 1714, pp. 389-448, 423-482, 482-519 of both editions. The original orthography is retained throughout this Appendix.]

a. "A List of the Persons who received their Sentences in the Act of the Faith, celebrated in the City of Lisbon, on the 10th of May, 1682.

| AGE. | A Person who wore the Habit but did not Abjure. | PUNISHMENT. |
|------|--|---|
| 48 | Joan Alexio, a New Christian, a Merchant, Native of Montemor, in the Kingdom of Castile, an Inhabitant in Sevil, and Resident in this City, reconciled by the Church of Sevil, in the Year 1672 for the Faults of Judaism; and imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same. [The Reason of this person's not having Abjured, was, because he was taken up for having relapsed, and so must have died without Mercy, had he been convicted.] | Prison and Habit perpetual, without remission, and 5 Years in Brasil. |
| | Abjuration de Leve. | |
| 48 | Catherina Baretta, a Maid, the Daughter of Antonio de Crasto, a Native of Villa Franca, and an Inhabitant of this City, for the Faults of Witchcraft. | Prison during pleasure, and to be whipp'd, and 4 Years in Brasil. |

| AGE. | Abjuration for Judaism <i>de vehementer</i> . | PUNISHMENT. |
|-----------------------------|--|---|
| 51 | Luis de Mattos Couto, a New Christian, who lived upon his own Estate, a Native of this City, and Inhabitant in the Government of <i>Spirito Santo</i> , in the State of Brasil. He must have lived there as a secret Jew.] | Prison during pleasure. |
| Fourth Abjuration. | | |
| 72 | Paula de [or da] Crasto, half a New Christian, married with Antonio Duarte, a Scrivener of the Civil Court, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.* | Perpetual Prison and Habit, and 3 Years in Brasil. |
| Persons who did not Abjure. | | |
| 46 | Magdalena da Cruz, the Wife of Augustino Nufes, who was <i>Alcaide</i> [Alcayde = jailer] of the secret Prisons of this Inquisition, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for having co-operated to corrupt certain officers of the Holy Office to give intelligence to persons in the Prisons, and to receive answers from them to Persons that were abroad. | 5 Years in the (sic) Brasil. |
| 75 | Simão Henriques,† a New Christian, who was a Farmer of the Revenue, Native and Inhabitant of this City, who abjured <i>de vehementer</i> , for the Crimes of Judaism, in an Act of the Faith, celebrated therein in the Year 1656: Imprisoned a second time for having relapsed into the same. | 5 Years in Brasil. |
| 27 | Thereza Maria de Jesus, more than half a New Christian, a Maid, the Daughter of Antonio Serrão, an Apothecary, who is in the List, a Native and Inhabitant of this City.‡ | Thesame, with the Ensigns of Fire, and 7 Years in Brasil. |

* Cf. also Kayserling's *Sephardim*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 305 and notes; and George A. Kohut: "Some Jewish Heroines—A chapter in Martyrology," published in the *American Jewess*, vol. II, No. 1, Chicago, 1895, p. 44, no. 12.

† See *Sephardim*, *ibid.*, l. c.

‡ Many members of this family suffered at the hands of the Inquisition in 1682 and were present at the above *auto de fe*. For further particulars see Kayserling, *Ein Feiertag in Madrid*, Leipzig, 1859, p. 23, note, and G. A. Kohut, "Jewish Victims of the Inquisition in Lisbon in the seventeenth and eighteenth century," in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. XXXI. On Thereza Maria de Jesus, see also G. A. Kohut in *American Jewess* for October, 1875, p. 45, no. 23.

| AGE. | Abjuration de Leve. | PUNISHMENT. |
|--|--|--|
| 30 | Ursula Maria, a Maid, the Daughter of Francisco de Salhas, a Glass Merchant, a Native of the Town of Alhas Vedros, and an Inhabitant of this City for the same Fault. | Prison during pleasure, and five Years in Brasil. |
| 41 | Maria Pinheira, married with Goncalo da Gama Volante, a Native and Inhabitant of this City, for the said Fault. | The same. |
| Abjuration for Judaism <i>de vehemente</i> . | | |
| 55 | Francisco de Almeida Negrão, a New Christian, who belonged to the Sea, a Native and Inhabitant of the Town of Pedrenero, for the same fault of Judaism, and for having spoke Propositions with an Heretical Obstinacy after he had been Reproved for 'em." | Prison during pleasure, and Three Years in Brasil. |

b. "A List of the Prisoners and of their Condemnation and Sentence who were in the Publick Act of the Faith, celebrated by the Inquisition in the City of Lisbon, on Sunday, the 6th of November, 1707, Consisting of above Threescore Men and Women with some Notes upon it.

| AGE. | The second Abjuration in Form for Judaism. | PUNISHMENT. |
|------|--|-----------------------------|
| 21 | Donna Theresa Barreira,* a New Christian, not marry'd, the Daughter of Andre Barreira, a Merchant, Native of the City of Olinda, in the Bishoprick of Parnamburo [Pernambuco?] in the State of Brasil and Inhabitant in this city of Lisbon, originally of the Kingdom of Castile (p. 507, no. 16)." | Perpetual Prison and Habit. |

c. We also append from the same list, the record of four others punished for various offences. It is probable that these were Jews or Marranos. Their names, though quite familiar, do not give us the slightest clue to their identity.

* Cf. my article on "Jewish Heroines," p. 44, no. 5; and the *Revue des Études Juives*, l. c.

| AGE. | Abjuration de Leve. | PUNISHMENT. |
|------|--|---|
| 45 | Antonio Laureno de Almaida,* a Soldier of the Regiment of Algarves; Native of the City of Faro, and Inhabitant of Spirito Santo, in the State of Brasil, for having married twice, his first Wife being alive. | Prison during pleasure, Whipping, and 5 Years in the Galleys. |
| 46 | Manuel Jorge, a Seaman, Native of the Island of Pico [in the Azores] and Inhabitant of this City for the same fault. | The same. |
| 34 | Joan de Conto [Couto ?] Toledo, who has no Calling. Native of the Town of Praya, in the Island of Tercera [in the Azores] and Inhabitant of Sanctos, under the Government of the Rio de Janeiro [Janeiro ?] for the said Fault." | The same. |

APPENDIX VIII.

Antonio José Da Silva, the Jew.

[From the *Brazilian Biographical Annual*, ed. by Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, Rio de Janeiro, 1876, pp. 31-34, under date of the 8th of May.]

"The Inquisition, the so-called *Santo Officio*, could in its beginning perhaps excuse itself on the plea of religious zeal and well-intentioned aspirations; but even so, it was plainly subject to abuses and to degenerating into fanatical persecutions, as was shortly the case, when it became a terrible calumny on the holy religion of the Lamb of God and of the pure and undefiled teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Inquisition, introduced into Portugal and then firmly established by D. John III, increased the number of its agents and spread like a net over the kingdom of Portugal and its possessions. In Brazil it made an abundant harvest of victims, who were burnt at the stake or subjected to horrible tortures by means of infernal machines invented by a cruel and diabolical ingenuity.†

* Marranos of this name are known to have lived in Mexico already in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See the paper by Dr. Cyrus Adler, on "The Trial of Jorge de Almeida by the Inquisition in Mexico," in this *Publication*.

† This corroborates the theory, advanced above, that Brazil was very much under the control of the Inquisition.

Antonio José da Silva was born in Rio de Janeiro on May 8, 1705. He was the legitimate son of the lawyer João Mendes da Silva (see Appendix IX) and Lourença Coutinho. The latter, on a mere suspicion of Judaism, was arrested and sent to Lisbon. João Mendes followed his wife, carrying with him his three children, the youngest of whom, Antonio José, was then eight years of age, and to support his family and defend his wife, commenced the practice of law in Lisbon. Lourença Coutinho was not at that time brought to the stake.

Antonio José was educated in Lisbon. His college career was made brilliant by his talent and vivacity, and at the age of twenty-one he graduated at Coimbra as bachelor of divinity. He returned to Lisbon, and in August of the same year (1726) fell into the hands of the Inquisition, which had renewed its persecutions of the martyr Lourença Coutinho. After being subjected to torture for two months, he was released in October by an *auto de fe*.

He practised law with his father, whom he greatly assisted in his professional labors. He was an author of fables and of humorous and witty poetry, and became known and esteemed. He began to write comedies, which were very successful and drew crowded houses to the theatre of *Bairro Alto*.

Antonio José da Silva married Leonor Maria de Carvalho. The fruit of this union was one daughter, on whom he lavished the whole wealth of a father's love and tenderness. He professed to be an ardent Catholic, either from sincere conviction or from fear of the Inquisition, which had again incarcerated his wretched mother.

João Mendes da Silva died in 1736, probably cursing the diabolical institution which had kept him in constant torment by its cruelty to his wife and by the apprehensions which it excited for his son. Antonio José da Silva, rendered famous by his amusing comedies, so full of wit and originality, was honored by his admirers with the flattering epithet of the Portuguese Plautus. He resuscitated and regenerated the

drama at Lisbon and won the friendship of many eminent persons, among whom were Mathias Ayres Ramos da Silva Eça,* director of the mint, a man of considerable literary acquirements, and D. Francisco Xavier de Menezes, Count of Ericeiro, who, like his father, was a poet.

But the people called the comedies of Antonio José da Silva the operas of the Jew. Was this his crime, forsooth?

The wretched poet was again arrested and incarcerated by the Inquisition, together with his young and innocent wife, on the 7th [read 5th] of October, 1737. It is wonderful that his persecutors even spared his infant daughter. Neither the love of the people, which was a crime, nor his literary glory, which was a reproach, nor the faithful friendship of Silva Eça and the Count of Ericeira, could save Antonio José from the doom which awaited him.

The diabolical tribunal, the so-called *Santo Officio*, the notorious calumniator and sacrilegious enemy of Christ's holy religion, in cold blood and with cruel perversity murdered, in the name of the God of pardon, charity and mercy, Antonio José da Silva, his mother Lourença Coutinho, and his wife Leonor Maria de Carvalho! The three victims were publicly burned in Lisbon on October 19, 1739. The Inquisition had roasted and devoured its prey.

The memory of Antonio José da Silva has been perpetuated by his comedies, which are so conspicuous for their wit, elegance and originality that, having been carelessly published with others not written by him, they were easily distinguished from the spurious productions, the difference being apparent to any one of ordinary intelligence on a simple inspection.

* See his biography in the same volume, p. 45, where we read that "he was a friend of the unfortunate Antonio José, whom he made every effort to save from the clutches and fire of the Inquisition." That this excellent man with all his influence could not save his friend is very singular indeed.

The number of the genuine comedies is twelve. They would not now be admitted on the stage, as neither would those of Plautus, Terence, Gil Vicente and other classical writers; but the *Guerras do Alecrim e da Mangerona*, *Escan-tos de Medéa*, *Labyrintho de Creta*, *Vida de D. Queixote*, *Precipicio de Phaetonte* and others, are works whose merit is more than sufficient to establish the glory of this illustrious Brazilian whose inspired genius was the life and soul of the Portuguese theatre in the eighteenth century.

The Brazilian poet Dr. Domingos Magalhães, now Vis-count of Araguaya, has written a tragedy, frequently represented before applauding audiences, of which José Antonio is the hero and which bears his name.

The production and representation of this play has united in one complex, three glorious Brazilian names: that of the hero, Antonio José, and finally that of the actor, João Caetano, who amidst enthusiastic applause represented the character of the illustrious victim of the unhallowed Inquisition."

APPENDIX IX.

João Mendes da Silva.

[*Ibidem*, pp. 441-2.]

"A native of Rio de Janeiro, where he was born in 1656, João Mendes da Silva took his degree in law in the University of Coimbra, and on his return to the country of his birth he worthily followed the profession of Advocate, and married Lourença Coutinho, who, years after, suspected of Judaism, was arrested in Rio de Janeiro by the agents of the Holy Office and sent to Lisbon.

João Mendes abandoned everything to follow and protect his wife, whose fate, as also that of his son, Antonio José da Silva, will be mentioned in the article relating to the latter (cf. previous sketch). Although João Mendes practiced advocacy in Lisbon, and in spite of the friends he made, he could

not succeed in snatching his wife from the prisons of the Inquisition; he at least, however, educated his son, and saw him take his degree in canon law in the University of Coimbra, and practiced law with him in his office.

But on the 8th of August, 1726, Antonio José da Silva, his son and his hope, was also seized by the Inquisition under pretext of a *suspicio*, of Judaism!

Notwithstanding, after two months of torments and ill-treatment with the pulleys, they set free the poor youth. The 8th day of August was for João Mendes a precursor of horrible misfortune, and it remained in his mind as a black shadow and bad omen for the future. The fond father saw on the 8th of August the mark of the implacable Inquisition cast on his son.

Even so, even under the persecution of this ominous fancy, and the fearful martyrdom that threatened his wife, the unfortunate João Mendes, desponding and sorrowful, internally cursing the Inquisition but outwardly feigning to esteem it, lived ten years, dying at length in 1736. God had had mercy on that devoted husband and fond father, who at least saw not the accursed flames of the sacrilegious pile devour his wife and son.

João Mendes da Silva was a lawyer and advocate of much credit and a poet of some merit.

He wrote *A Poem dedicated to our Lord Jesus Christ*, sacred hymns, and fables, and light poems, to which critics of authority give a decided preference."

APPENDIX X.

Brief Biography of Antonio José da Silva.

[From Brockhaus' *Conversations-Lexikon*, XIII ed., vol. XIV, Leipzig, 1886, p. 827^b.]

"Silva (Antonio José da) genannt o Judeu, ist der Verfasser portugiesischer burlesk-komischer Singspiele von genialer Originalität, welche 1733-38 im Theater des Bairro-Alto von

Lissabon, unter dem rauschenden Beifall der Menge, dargestellt wurden. Silva wurde als Sohn eines getauften Juden 8. Mai 1705 in Rio de Janeiro geboren, studierte in Coimbra die Rechte und wollte eben 1726 seine Thätigkeit als Advokat beginnen, als er mit samt seiner schon früher des Judäismus verdächtigen Mutter vor das Inquisitionstribunal gefordert wurde. Schliesslich freigesprochen arbeitete er als Advokat in Lissabon. Im Jahre 1737 wurde Silva jedoch von neuem vor die Schranken des Inquisitionstribunals geladen, nach zweijähriger Gefangenschaft zum Tode verurteilt und am 19. Oktober 1739 das Urteil in feierlichem Auto da Fé vollstreckt.

Das Volk nannte Silva's Singspiele nur "die Opern des Juden," im Hinblick darauf, dass in den eigenartigen Dramen die kernige volkstümliche Prosa, welche ihre eigentliche Sprache ist, häufig durch eingelegte Gesangsstücke unterbrochen wird. Die Parodie mythologischer Stoffe und altklassischer Fabeln, und der grosse scenische Apparat der *Operas* nähert sie den modernen Offenbachiaden; der Humor, welcher die echt portugiesische Sitten und Zeitbilder adelt, erhebt sie jedoch zu epochemachenden Erscheinungen. Die bedeutendsten der Stücke sind: "Amphytrião," "Esopaida," "Don Quixote" und "Guerras de Alecrim e Mangerona." Gedruckt wurden sie erst in Einzelheften (1736–1737), dann gesammelt im *Theatro comico Portuguez* (4 Bde., Lissabon, 1744, 1747, 1753, 1759 und 1787–92), welches acht Stücke von Silva enthält. Ein Stück, "O Ocabinho da mão furada," erschien erst 1860 in der *Revista Brazileira*. Vgl. Wolf, *Don Antonio José da Silva, der Verfasser der sogenannten Opern des Juden* (Wien, 1860); David, *Les Opéras du Juif* (Paris, 1880).*

* In the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s. v. *Portugal* (9th ed., vol. XIX, p. 557^b), Antonio José da Silva is barely mentioned.

APPENDIX XI.

Simondi's Estimate.

[From a *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, by J. C. L. Simonde de Siamondi, English transl. by Thomas Roscoe, 4th ed., Bohn's Library, London, 1853, vol. II, pp. 590-91.]

"About the epoch of Ericeyra [1673-1744] some promise of a Portuguese drama began to dawn in Lisbon. During the whole seventeenth century that city had to boast only of a Spanish theatre, and such of the Portuguese as cultivated the dramatic art adopted the Castilian tongue. Added to which John V patronized an Italian opera in Lisbon which, supported by his munificence, soon appeared to flourish; and this new example gave rise to another species of mixed spectacle. This consisted of comic operas played without the recitative, and composed probably with borrowed music, in the manner of the vaudevilles, accompanied at the same time with all the attractions and display of the Italian opera. The pieces were written by a Jew of the name of Antonio José, an illiterate and obscure individual, whose coarseness both of style and imagination betrayed the vulgar rank to which he had belonged (*sic*!). A genuine vein of humor and familiar gaiety, however, gave life to the Portuguese stage for the first time; there was a certain vigor as well in the subjects as in the style, and from the period of 1730 to 1740 the people rushed in crowds to the theater. The nation seemed on the point of possessing its own drama, when Antonio José, the Jew, was seized and burnt by order of the Inquisition, at the last *auto de fe*, which took place in the year 1745 [read 1739]. The managers were then, perhaps, alarmed lest their faith should become suspected by continuing the presentation of the unfortunate Jew's productions, and the theater was in consequence closed. There are extant two collections of these Portuguese operas, dated 1746 and 1787, in two volumes octavo, which appeared without the author's name. The eight or ten pieces which they contain are all

equally rude in point of language and construction, but are by no means deficient in sprightliness and originality. One of these, of which Esop is made the hero (*Esopaida*), and in which the brilliant exploits of the Persian war are whimsically enough included in order to exhibit battles and evolutions of cavalry upon the stage, gives to the character of Esop all the ridicule and gaiety of a true harlequin.

A Portuguese poet of our own day has addressed some lines to the memory of this victim of the Inquisition, in a style of extreme boldness and severity. After passing in review several other human sacrifices, no less disgraceful and atrocious than those which bathed the altars of Mexico in blood, he exclaims :

O' Antonio Jose dóce e faceto,
 Tu que fostes o primeiro que pizaste
 Com mais regular sono a scena luza !
 O provo da Lisboa mais sensivel
 Foi no Theatro aos teus jocosos ditos
 Que no Rocio à voz de humanidade,
 Que infame horrenda, pompa, que fogueire
 Te vejo preparada !”

(The Rocio is the public place in Lisbon provided for the exhibition of the *autos de fe*.)

APPENDIX XII.

Bibliography of Works relating to Antonio José da Silva.

1. 1813. The first French edition of J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi's *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*. English transl. by Thomas Roscoe, 4th ed., Bohn's Library, London, 1853, vol. II, pp. 590, 591.

[See Appendix XI, where an extract of a poem written in honor of da Silva, by a contemporary poet, is reproduced.]

2. 1826. F. Denis, *Résumé de l'histoire littéraire du Portugal*, Paris, 1826, p. 432 *seq.*

3. 1847. *Portugal Pittoresco*, Lisboa, 1847, vol. III, p. 270.
4. 1850. Adolpho de Varnhagen, *Florilegio da poesia brasileira*, Lisboa, 1850, p. 207 seq.
5. 1852. Vegezzi Ruscula, *Il Giudeo Portoghese*, Turin, 1852.
6. 1855. De Lara, Antonio Joseph, the Portuguese dramatist, published at first in the American Jewish weekly, *The Asmonean, a Family Journal of Commerce, Politics, Religion and Literature*, devoted to the interest of the American Israelite, edited by Robert Lyon, New York, 1855; reprinted in the *Jewish Chronicle*, London, 1855, No. 29; German versions in Samson Raphael Hirsch's *Jeschurun, ein Monatsblatt zur Förderung jüdischen Geistes und jüdischen Lebens in Haus, Gemeinde und Schule*, I Jahrg., 5615, Frankfurt a. M., 1855, p. 598 seq.; by Dr. M. Wiener, in Dr. Z. Frankel's *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, IV Jahrg., Leipzig, 1855, pp. 328–36.
7. 1856. José Maria da Costa é Silva, *Ensayo biographico-critico sobre os melhores poetas portuguezes*, Lisboa, 1856, vol. X.
8. 1858. Innoc. Franc. da Silva, *Diccion bibl. portuguez*, Lisboa, 1858.
9. 1858. J. M. Pereira da Silva, Antonio José, in his *Os varies illustres do Brasil*, Paris, 1858, vol. I, pp. 259–281. .
10. 1859. Dr. M. Kayserling *Sephardim; Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1859, pp. 320–323 and notes. (See also note 207.)
11. 1860. Ferdinand Wolf, *Don Antonio José da Silva, der Verfasser der sogenannten Opern des Juden*, published in (and afterwards reprinted from) the *Sitzungsberichte der philosoph. histor. Classe der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, 1860. See also Kayserling's review of Wolf's book in Steinschneider's *Hebraeische Bibliographie*, vol. III (1860), pp. 111–112.

12. 1860. Dr. M. Kayserling, *Antonio José da Silva*, in Frankel's *Monatsschrift f. d. Gesch. und Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, vol. IX, Leipzig, 1860, pp. 331–38.
13. 1861. Joachim Norberto de Sousa Silva, *A corôa de fogo*, Rio de Janeiro, 1861.
[An epic poem entitled "The diadem of fire," dedicated to Antonio's memory by one of Brazil's modern poets, whose writings rank very high.]
14. 1863. Ferdinand Wolf, *Le Brésil Littéraire*, Berlin, 1863, p. 31 *seq.*
15. 1867. Dr. M. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal*, Leipzig, 1867, pp. 329–33.
16. 1876. Joaquim Manoel de Macedo, *Antonio José da Silva, the Jew*, in his *Brazilian Biographical Annual*, Rio de Janeiro, 1876, pp. 31–34.
[See Appendix VIII and IX, where Antonio's and his father's biography are given from this valuable record.]
17. 1877. Frederic David Mocatta, *The Jews of Spain and Portugal and the Inquisition*, London, 1877, pp. 88, 89; also in the Hebrew translation by I. H. Barta (כארטא) which appeared in an appendix to S. I. Gräber's *Ozar Hassifruith*, Krakau, 1888, vol. II, p. 34.
18. 1878. Fridolin Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Inquisition. Einrichtung und Thätigkeit derselben in Spanien, Portugal, Italien, den Niederlanden, Frankreich, Deutschland, Süd-Amerika, Indien und China*, Bonn, 1878, vol. II, pp. 88, 89.
19. 1880. Ernest David, *Les opéras du Juif Antonio José da Silva, 1705–1739* (Extrait du *Journal des archives israélites*, Paris, 1880, impr. et libr. Wittersheim in 8vo de 74 p.).
20. 1880. Isidore Loeb in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. I, 1880, p. 126 (cf. also *ibid.*, vol. III, 1881, p. 157).
[Review of the above cited work of David's.]

21. 1880. Dr. M. Gruenwald, *José da Silva, ein tragisches Opfer der Inquisition im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, in Frankel-Graetz's *Monatsschrift f. d. Gesch. und Wissensch. d. Judenth.*, vol. XXIX, Krotoschin, 1880, pp. 241-57.
22. 1882. Dr. M. Levin, *Antonio Joseph da Silva*, first published in Dr. Adolph Brüll's *Populär-wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter*, etc., 2 Jahrg., Frankfurt a. M., 1882, pp. 211, 212; reprinted in his *Iberia, Bilder aus der spanisch-jüdischen Geschichte*, Berlin, 1885, and in Rev. Joseph Krauskopf's *The Jews and Moors in Spain*, Kansas City, 1887, pp. 185-188.
[One of the most vivid and picturesque descriptions, in verse, of the execution of Don Antonio. In Brüll's magazine, l. c. p. 211, note, Dr. Levin gives a brief outline of his life. See also *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. XII, 1886, p. 127.]
23. 1886. Brockhaus's *Conversations-Lexikon*, 13th ed., vol. XIV, Leipzig, 1886, p. 827^b, s. v.
24. 1886. Dr. Gustav Karpeles, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur*, vol. II, Berlin, 1886, p. 960.
25. 1887. Rev. Joseph Krauskopf, *The Jews and Moors in Spain*, Kansas City, 1887, pp. 183, 184.
26. 1895. Gustav Karpeles, *Jewish Literature and other Essays*, Philad., 1895, Jewish Pub. Soc., pp. 100, 236, 237.

APPENDIX XIII.

Bibliography of Don Antonio's Compositions.

1. 1729. *Os a mantesde escabeche*. (Slyness in love.)
2. 1729-33. *El prodigio de Amarante*. (The wonder of Amarante.)
3. 1729-33. *San-Gonçalo*. (St. Gonzales.)
4. 1729-33. *Amor vincido da Amour*. (Love conquered by Love.)

[This operette was written in honor of the Crown-Prince of Brazil, afterwards King Don José.]

5. 1729-33. *Vida do grande Don Quixote da Mancha e do gordo Sancho Pansa*. (Life of the great Don Quixote de la Mancha and of the servant Sancho Pansa.)

[Upon this excellent drama his fame chiefly rests. It was performed in October, 1733, upon the stage of Bairro Alto. Of course, Cervantes' famous classic furnished him the material. It is a sharp *critique* of the Portuguese customs and manners in the eighteenth century. It became so popular in Portugal and Brazil, that long after his death, in 1774, it was again reprinted under the title *O grande Governador da Isla dos Lagardos* (The illustrious Governor of the Lizard Islands), and was incorporated in the large collection of comedies called *Intermez de Cordel*. (See, however, the remarks of Ernest David in his *Les opéras du Juif Antonio José da Silva*, Paris, 1880, and Dr. M. Grünwald, in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, vol. XXIX, 1880, pp. 244-246.)]

6. 1734. *Esopaida*. (The Life of Aesop.)

[Likewise introduced upon the stage of Bairro Alto in 1734.]

7. 1735. *Os encantos de Medea*. (The incantations of Medea.)

8. 1736. *Alma minha gentil, que te pertiste*. (Noble and precious soul, wherefore hast thou forsaken me.)

[A dirge of Camoens lamenting the death of the beautiful Infanta Donna Francisca, of Portugal, to which De Silva has added a gloss. (Grünwald, p. 247.).]

9. 1736. *Amphitrião*. (Jupiter and Alkmene.)

[A popular comedy directed as a satire against King John V, who in disguise visited the cloister of Ocidellas or the chapel of St. Sacrement.]

10. 1736. (?) *O Labirinto de Creta*. (The labyrinth of Creta.)

[A polemic against mythology and religion.]

11. 1737. *As guerras do Alecrim e de Mengerona*. (The battle of Rosmarin and Majoran.)

[The most original and national of his comedies, not unknown even to-day. A true picture of the customs of the first half of the eighteenth century. It was first launched at the time of the Carnival in 1737.]

12. 1737. *Variedades de Protes*. (The metamorphoses of Proteus.)

[A sort of variety show, written upon popular demand, with numerous tableaux and gorgeous scenery. First performed in the theatre of Bairro Alto in 1737.]

13. 1737. *O Precipicio de Faetonte*. (The precipice of Phaeton.)

[This, his last piece, was composed from May till October, 1737, and was introduced in 1738, when its author was languishing in the dungeon of the Tribunal.]

14. 1744, 1747, 1753, 1759, 1787, 1792. His collected writings were published. In 1744 they appeared anonymously in two volumes, under the title *Theatro comico portuguez*, edited by Francisco Luiz Ameno. Three different editions were issued subsequently; the best is entitled *Theatro comico portuguez: Collecção das operas portuguezas que se representaram na casa do theatro publico da Bairro Alto e Mouria de Lisboa*.

It is interesting to note that the editor of this anthology added other compositions by foreign authors, ascribing them to our Antonio, and only in 1858 was the forgery detected by Innocencio Francisco de Silva in his *Os varies illustres do Brasil*, Paris, 1858, vol. I, pp. 259-81, who showed that da Silva, like the ancient Jewish hymnologists (*Payetanin*), affixed his name in the form of an acrostic to every one of his plays.

15. 1860. *O ocabinho da mão furada.*

[A recently recovered production of Don Joseph's, published in 1860 in the *Revista Brasileira*.]

See also for other important details, beside the authorities given in the last Appendix, the works of David and Gruenwald, who speak more elaborately of his literary achievements. De Macedo, in his biography of Antonio, quoted above (no. 16), says that the Brazilian poet, Dr. Domingos Magalhães, Viscount of Araguaya, "has written a tragedy, frequently represented before applauding audiences, of which José Antonio is the hero and which bears his name," etc. It would be interesting to publish an anthology of poems written in honor of this Portuguese Plautus whom Brazil so proudly claims for her own. In the recently written historical and literary compendiums of that country, this illustrious martyr must surely be accorded a conspicuous place.

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